Daily Report

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Warsaw Pact Submits Conventional Forces Proposal
LD2505091889 Moscow TASS in English 0908 GMT 25 May 89

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna May 25 TASS—At the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, ambassador Lyuben Petrov, the leader of the Bulgarian delegation, on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty countries, today introduced a working document on the levels of the armed forces of the states of each military and political alliance in individual regions of Europe.

The proposal envisages a radical cut in the armed forces and conventional arms not only throughout Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals but also in individual European regions—in the rear area of zones of contact of the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member-states.

It is suggested that equal collective ceilings be set for combat strike aircraft, combat helicopters, tanks, artillery, and armoured combat vehicles.

Reductions to equal levels should be effected on a coordinated basis stage-by-stage in all the enumerated categories of weapons within five-six years after accords are reached.

Bogachev Views NATO Response to Pact Appeal
LD2405193989 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 24 May 89

[By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—An official NATO spokesman in Brussels in a special statement reacted rather coldly to the appeal of the Warsaw Treaty member- states to the countries of the North Atlantic Alliance, stating that his bloc's leadership expected "deeds, not words" from the Warsaw Treaty organisation.

It follows from his statement that only the North Atlantic Alliance is making practical efforts to create "conditions permitting to overcome the division of post-war Europe", while the Warsaw Treaty countries have only "hampered these activities". It goes without saying that the NATO spokesman did not and could not cite any facts in support of his strange—to say the least—assessments of the contributions of the two alliances to the "development of West-East relations".

Over the past three years, however, the most bellicose Atlanticists saw their chief task in resisting the peaceful offensive of the Warsaw Treaty member-countries, in taking steps to resusitate the image of "communist enemy" which provided the raison-d'etre for the existence of the Atlantic alliance.

Adherents of power politics in NATO responded to the INF Treaty with plans to modernise the U.S. nuclear means in Europe so as to maintain the potential for waging a limited nuclear war in Europe on an adequate level. The Soviet decision to close two more industrial reactors producing plutonium for weapons prompted the United States to respond by expanded production of fissionable materials for making new nuclear warheads. The USSR's statement about removal, already during the current year, of 500 nuclear charges from the territories of its allies was received by the NATO leadership as an attempt to undermine the unity of the Western military bloc.

The remarkable thing is that even large-scale unilateral reductions in the armed forces of the Warsaw Treaty countries cause annoyance among the NATO leaders since, allegedly, they are not conducive to the unity of the NATO alliance. And this is perhaps the most graphic illustration of the true aims and functions of the Western military alliance. NATO's practical activity on questions of war and peace is now entering into an irreconcilable contradiction with the principles and objectives proclaimed by the alliance. The United States and Britain now want to renege on provisions of the Harmel doctrine which for many years provided the basis for NATO's political course. As is known, this doctrine, even with the pursuit of U.S. military programmes in Europe, did not rule out the possibility of talks with the USSR on limiting and reducing the arms deployed. At the behest of Washington which refuses to negotiate tactical nuclear weapons, NATO's "two track solution" may cease to be "two track". The present U.S. Administration intends to reequip its nuclear forces in Europe without taking the trouble to engage in talks on disarmament. And this causes frictions between Washington and the European NATO members forced to take into account the public sentiment in their countries.

Former U.S. Negotiator Supports Pact's Proposal
LD2505115589 Moscow TASS in English 1057 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—The United States should consider very seriously the Warsaw Pact's proposal to eliminate both NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organisation, former U.S. arms control negotiator Paul Nitze said at the National Press Club in Washington on Wednesday [24 May].

He emphasised that the United States "needs to adjust its policy as Europe redefines its identity." Having pointed out that NATO and the Warsaw Pact had come out with nearly identical proposals at conventional arms talks, Nitze said: "I think Mr Gorbachev is certainly right that there is no political threat and there are political advantages. And I see no defensive disadvantages in carrying out exactly what he's proposed."

Speaking on problems of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe, Nitze, the veteran of Soviet-American arms control negotiations, said the NATO division on this issue could "envisage a serious split" between "the two portions of the alliance". Nitze emphasised that on this matter the United States was supported only by British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, while most of the European NATO members supported West Germany.

According to Nitze, one of the lessons learned during the long years of arms control discussions is the importance of NATO unity.

"With the significant changes in the USSR and its apparent defence arms control policy, many in NATO saw the threat from the East as being much less immediate and threatening. Thus, the political aspects of the situation offered important reasons to seek a solution to our differences with the Germans on this short-range missile issue."

Taking into account "military considerations", the United States could well take the West German initiative to negotiate short-range missiles in Europe.

"The true deterrent to a Soviet attack in Europe upon us or our allies must be the great power and diversity of our strategic nuclear forces deployed at sea or based in the United States," Nitze said.

Chernyshev Comments on ABM Treaty Anniversary
LD2405184189 Moscow TASS in English 1817 GMT 24 May 89

[By TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—On May 26 this year it will be seventeen years since the USSR and USA signed a treaty limiting their anti-ballistic systems. The treaty is still a solid basis for the process of strategic offensive arms reduction. The problem of the ABM [Antiballistic Missile] Treaty is again moving to the foreground, now that Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons have resumed in Geneva. In this connection, one cannot but be alarmed by some statements of U.S. Administration officials.

It will be recalled that Soviet-American statements at the summit level, made during Ronald Reagan's incumbency, clearly spell out the need to work out an agreement committing both the USSR and the USA to complying with the ABM Treaty in the form it was signed in 1972 and not backing out of it for an agreed period of time. However, despite the many protestations of continuity of foreign policy, emanating from official Washington, the plans and intentions of the present administration attest to something completely different. Thus U.S. Defence Secretary Richard Cheney in an interview with the CNN television network said that during his tenure in the Pentagon, the decision to deploy an SDI system will be taken. Lieutenant-General George Monahan, director of the Strategic Defence Initiative Organisation, asserted in a senate sub-committee that in holding test within the framework of the "Strategic Defence Initiative" the United States might depart from the ABM Treaty and that in the long run it would be necessary to renege on the document. And finally, Richard Burt, recently appointed head of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks, asserts that the Bush Administration will strive to conclude with the USSR a strategic offensive arms treaty that would leave completely open to the United States all possible options for SDI deployment. According to Burt, the Soviet position linking agreement on strategic arms with the need to retain the ABM Treaty intact, is unacceptable to the U.S. Administration.

Can one, based on such statements, deduce that Washington really wants meaningful talks in Geneva? I think that one would rather suppose a different thing, namely that the U.S. Administration is not at all interested in achieving an agreement on a fifty per cent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons. But after all, one cannot count on the USSR agreeing to the conclusion of such an agreement when the validity of the ABM Treaty is in jeopardy. The deployment of an SDI system or even the threat of such deployment would brusquely upset international stability. When in the conditions of an equilibrium between the two powers one of them adds a new component to the strategic equation, can one still speak of a balance? Of course not: The balance will disappear. The opposite side will have to proceed from the worst assumption and to build up and improve its strategic offensive weapons in order to restore strategic equilibrium.

It is an intimate link between the strategic offensive and defensive arms. Effective measures to limit the ABM systems are an important factor in containing the strategic offensive arms race, called upon to lessen the threat of nuclear war. Violating or ignoring this link inevitably leads to opposite results. It is also important to bear in mind that such a link is of a permanent and universal nature. It does not get erased or disappear depending on the desire of this or that politician. One would wish that official Washington finally take account of these objective realities in working out its position on the talks resuming in Geneva.

Results of Warsaw Pact Military Council Session

PM2505095989 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "On the Results of Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Military Council Session"]

[Text] A scheduled session of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Military Council was held 22-24 May 1989 in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, under the chairmanship of Army General P.G. Lushev, commander in chief of the Joint Armed Forces.

The following took part in its work: Members of the Military Council, representatives of the defense ministries of the states belonging to the Warsaw Pact Organization, and also senior officials from the Joint Armed Forces' administrative bodies.

The Military Council discussed some matters of Joint Armed Forces activity, proceeding from the defensive thrust of the Warsaw Pact states' military doctrine and the national military doctrines.

The session was conducted in a businesslike atmosphere and was characterized by a spirit of friendship and comradely cooperation.

Lushev Cited on Council's Work

LD2405164389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1608 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Berlin, 24 May (TASS)—The maintenance of a proper level of combat readiness among the combined armed forces is still our main task, Army General Petr Lushev declared today. In an interview with TASS correspondent Oleg Moskovskiy in connection with the conclusion here of the work of the session of the Military Council of the Warsaw Pact Combined Armed Forces, he noted that, as it performed that task, the Military Council bore in mind that Western policy continues to feature the desire to obtain military advantages through unilateral reduction of the armaments of the Warsaw Pact states. On the other hand, attention is being drawn to the constructive initiatives of the socialist states—above all, the unilateral measures to reduce armed forces and military budgets recently undertaken by the Warsaw Pact countries.

While considering the issues on the agenda, the Military Council proceeded both from the requirments of the Warsaw Pact's defensive military doctrine and from the particular features of the development of the military-political situation in the world, Petr Lushev pointed out. Those attending the session must now tackle the no less responsible task of implementing the recommendations of the Military Council, which have been adopted in the interests of maintaining the combat capabilities of the combined Armed Forces, and which accord with today's demands, the Army general emphasized.

CEMA 131st Executive Committee Session Outlined

PM2405090589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Andrey Krushinskiy under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Where To Buy a 'CEMA Automobile'?"]

[Text] CEMA has evolved a number of traditions over the 4 decades of its existence. They include council sessions convened annually and Executive Committee sittings held approximately three times a year.

As a rule, the Executive Committee, which is convened directly before a regular session, assumes special significance. It customarily sums up the work over the past year and outlines plans for the future—in short, it predetermines the nature of the upcoming CEMA session. This is precisely what the 131st Executive Committee sitting just held in Moscow was like.

An extensive communique was published on its results, abounding, as usual, in formulas like "the course of fulfilling the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technical Progress," "improving the methodology of price formation," "coordinating national economic plans," and so forth. And the discussion at the traditional news conferences held before and after the Executive Committee sitting proceeded in approximately such terms. When a journalist asked a simple, "down-to-earth" question—about the prospects for a "CEMA automobile"—there was slight embarrassment in the conference hall, and witticisms were heard: "Where can it be bought? How much does it sell for? What about spare parts?" But then the laughter died down, and the answer came in the traditional style: "The concept of an automobile that the CEMA countries could produce in collaboration will be elucidated in the next 5-Year Plan."

Recently CEMA has been criticized frequently—and not just in the West but also in a number of socialist countries. The press writes about weaknesses of the integration mechanism, about technological backwardness in a number of joint projects, about miscalculations in multilateral specialization, about shortcomings in the currency and finance system, and so forth.

I believe that the insufficient popularity of CEMA programs and the ordinary working person's certain alienation from their results may be regarded as a serious shortcoming of the concepts of the international socialist division of labor as a whole.

It is gratifying that CEMA activity has been undergoing profound changes in recent years. There is the process of the democratization of foreign economic ties, and direct producers are being accustomed to them. Tens of thousands of people are acquiring a taste for such cooperation, if only because part of the foreign currency earned by enterprises may now be spent also on the social needs of labor collectives. The communique on the 131st CEMA Executive Committee sitting contains these words:

"Problems and the main areas connected with intensifying the social orientation of the socialist community countries' economic cooperation were discussed."

What does this comparatively new formula in CEMA documents imply? Conversations in corridors have enabled me to ascertain spheres of CEMA's social orientation at the contemporary stage, such as increased attention to problems of ecology and to production of food and consumer goods. I believe, however, that the further broadening of glasnost in CEMA activities would also assume definite social significance. There is progress here, too: Suffice it to say that for the first time in the council's 40-year history a decision has been made to publish the Executive Committee's report to the next, 45th sitting of the CEMA session, which will be held in Sofia at the end of June. And yet the high-rise building on Kalinin Avenue [CEMA headquarters] is still sometimes something like an impregnable bastion to journalists. But the public in the fraternal countries have a right to know the maximum about the processes of developing cooperation—this is an important reserve for a further growth of trust in and liking for CEMA.

Like many member countries of our community with equal rights, CEMA is enduring the complex period of restructuring. Just as everywhere, real, specific results are now expected from its activity. And, in my view, the progress precisely on matters of enhancing the social thrust of cooperation, deepening interaction, pooling efforts, exchanging experience, and ensuring broad glasnost is particularly important now.

CPSU Institute Hosts East Bloc Conference

PM2405124389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Exchanging Experience"]

[Text] The international scientific-practical conference "Renewing Forms and Methods of Party-State Leadership Under New Conditions of Management" was held 19 May at the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences Institute for Exchanging Experience of Socialist Building. Scientists and party workers participated in the conference's work—representatives of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Lao People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers Party, the CPSU, and the Czechoslovak Communist Party. Urgent problems of delimiting the functions of party, state, and economic organs at the stage of economic and political reforms and deepening the processes of the democratization of social life in the socialist countries were discussed.

The speeches by the conference participants reflected diverse experience of the search for ways to restructure the work of party organizations when enterprises switch to self-financing and cost recovery, to extend the working people's involvement in management, and to reveal the potential of various forms of ownership.

Foreign Ministry's Gerasimov Holds News Conference

Comments on UK Quotas, Expulsions

AU2405142189 Paris AFP in English 1406 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 24 (AFP)—The Soviet Union would drop the new quota limiting to 205 the number of people working for British interests here if London does the same for Soviets in Britain, Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennadiy Gerasimov said here Wednesday.

Mr. Gerasimov said Moscow was also ready to reconsider its decision to expel three British journalists if London returned the gesture and renounced the expulsion of three Soviet journalists on allegations of spying.

The announcement followed a call Tuesday by the British Foreign Office urging Moscow to reconsider its decision to impose personnel ceilings. It also warned that Britain would not comply with either the quota or the one-week deadline.

Mr. Gerasimov said Soviet Foreign Ministry figures now showed there were 150 Britons working in Moscow, who in turn employ 224 Soviet citizens, including 110 who work at the British Embassy here.

He said under terms of the quota, the total 374 employees at British organizations here—he had given the figure 375 on Monday— would have to be brought down to 205, but that any decision on who to eliminate was not up to the Soviet Union.

The 205 people employed at Soviet interests in London are all Soviet citizens.

The Kremlin's quota order sparked irritation in London, where it was viewed as overstepping limits after a tit-for-tit expulsion of 11 persons—including three journalists—on each side.

Britian was first to order the expulsions on Friday, though they were not publicly announced in hopes of avoiding retaliatory action by Moscow.

British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe defended the expulsions, stating again on radio Wednesday that London had acted on irrefutable proof.

Views Warsaw Pact Appeal to NATO

LD2405151189 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—At a briefing today, head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate [Gerasimov] drew the newsmen's attention to the new elements contained in the appeal of the Warsaw Treaty member-states to the NATO countries.

One novel element is, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, that the appeal was adopted in a completely new situation when the INF treaty is being implemented, the Vienna meeting is completed, a powerful impetus has been given to the deepening of the all-European process and talks on disarmament in Europe have got underway. The proposal for an eventual elimination of the two blocs retains its validity. But since the West is not yet prepared for disbandment now, then the interests of stability and security on the continent imperatively require a politisation of the relations between the blocs.

A reasonable, responsible and rational organisation of European affairs, the spokesman went on to say, presupposes setting in place non-confrontational relations between the two military-political alliances and establishment of diverse links between them—contacts contributing to greater trust and eliminating elements of reciprocal suspicion, unpredictability and false judgements. Doing away with confrontation between the military blocs is, of course, linked with overcoming the split of Europe. And now there is a real opportunity to enter a new period of peace. This historic chance must not be missed, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

Outlines Supreme Soviet Session

LD2405154589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1440 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (TASS)—It is envisaged that the Congress of USSR People's Deputies will work in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses on 25, 26, 29, 30, and 31 May, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the information department of the USSR Foreign Ministry, reported at a briefing here today. It is expected that two sessions will be held daily, morning and evening, with the exception of 26 and 31 May, when one session per day will be held. The session of the Supreme Soviet, which will be elected at the Congress of People's Deputies, is planned for 27 May and 1 June. The USSR people's deputies will determine the specific time for the completion of the work of the congress.

Gennadiy Gerasimov reported that 150 places are being allocated to foreign correspondents at each session of the congress, that is 300 places per day. The correspondents will be granted the opportunity to meet the deputies, to talk with them, and to interview them in the foyer of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses before the session and in the intervals. It is planned to allot special premises for television interviews. During the sessions correspondents will be located in the balcony of the auditorium.

The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet will take place in the sessions' hall of the chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet in the Supreme Soviet Presidium building. In view of the small size of the hall, up to 45 foreign correspondents can be present in the balcony during the whole of the USSR Supreme Soviet's working day.

The forming of groups of correspondents to cover the work of the congress and the Supreme Soviet session will be carried out on the basis of pools. The relevant cards will be issued individually each day in the press center of the USSR Foreign Ministry. Our task consists in helping foreign correspondents to cover this congress as widely as possible, Gennadiy Gerasimov stressed. For this purpose it is also proposed that meetings with people's deputies should also be held at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

Calls Bush Speech to Cubans 'Harsh'

LD2405162989 Moscow TASS in English 1542 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The harsh speech, both in tonality and contents, made by U.S. President George Bush on May 22 before a group of the leaders of the Cuban emigrant organisation, was nothing short of an attempt to impose on Cuba the "standards of conduct", agreeable to the White House, Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Directorate of the USSR foreign Ministry, told a news briefing here today.

In effect, it amounted to Washington's interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Edification and threats to resort to pressure have no place in inter-state relations, the Soviet spokesman stressed.

Discusses Congress, Afghanistan, UK

LD2405170289 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—At today's news briefing Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the USSR Foreign Ministry Information Directorate, informed Soviet and foreign journalists about the procedure to cover the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR opening here on May 25.

He said that 150 seats are alloted to foreign correspondents at each of the congress' meetings which will be held twice a day. Journalists will be given an opportunity to meet deputies, talk with them, and interview them in the foyer of the Kremlin Palace of Congresses before the beginning of sessions and during breaks.

The talks which Spanish Defence Minister Narcis Serra conducted in Moscow have confirmed that the countries have close approaches to several priority issues in the disarmament field, Gerasimov said. The general view was expressed that Soviet-spanish ties along the military line are an important element of bilateral relations and, moreover, help promote mutual understanding and build trust in the East-West dialogue. The results of the visit demonstrate that Soviet-Spanish relations are at the high point and there are grounds to expect their further positive development.

The documents, which were adopted at the non-aligned coordinating bureau session at the foreign minister level in Harare, have confirmed the non-aligned countries' striving to take a vigorous part in tackling problems of international security, disarmament, and in settling regional conflicts, Gerasimov said.

From the point of view of the USSR, the decision of this session on Afghanistan, which is of a weighed and constructive nature, is seen as important. It draws attention to the need to honour the Geneva agreements by all parties. The outcome of the Harare conference demonstrates that the Non-aligned Movement is an influential force which is capable of supporting the launched process of reshaping international relations.

Yuriy Kashlev, ambassador at large of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, told the briefing that the Soviet delegation, which will attend the humanitarian conference opening in Paris on May 30, intends to lend a constructive content to the mechanism of cooperation within the framework of the CSCE human dimension, created in Vienna, and will profess shedding the former confrontational approaches to humanitarian issues.

Gerasimov answered questions on observing the 205-man quota for the personnel of British institutions in the USSR and Soviet institutions in Britain. He stressed that it was Britain that initiated the introduction of the existing restrictions. For its part, the Soviet Union is ready not to abide by these quotas. The issue of their repudiation should be solved on the basis of reciprocity by the British authorities themselves. As for the expulsion from the USSR of three British journalists, the Soviet side is ready to cancel its decision if Britain will reciprocate in this case, too.

The launching of the book "USSR—New Opportunities for Business", which was issued jointly by the Vneshtorgizdat [State Publishing House of the Ministry of foreign Trade] publishers and the Austrian firm MD-Enterprises in Russian and German, took place at the end of the briefing.

Nonaligned Movement Praises INF Treaty

LD2005112989 Moscow TASS in English 1054 GMT 20 May 89

[Text] Harare May 20 TASS—The three-day meeting of the non-aligned countries' coordinating bureau at the foreign minister level drew to an end here on Friday [19 May]. The meeting gave center stage to the non-aligned movement's role in conditions of important political shifts in the world.

The delegations to the meeting set out their conclusions and proposals in the drafts of political and economic declarations which will be submitted to a conference of the heads of state and government of the non-aligned countries in Belgrade early in September.

The documents emphasise that the movement intends to intensify interaction and dialogue with all countries in the quest for new approaches to the solution of pressing issues of our time. They point out that the conclusion and entrance into force of the Soviet- U.S. Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty and also the ongoing negotiations between the two great powers contribute toward creating an auspicious climate for further progress in disarmament and in a political settlement of conflicts.

The non-aligned movement, which makes a contribution to this process, believes that the removal of the threat of a nuclear war and the elimination of nuclear arsenals are today the most urgent tasks. Therefore, it favours the adoption of early measures which aim to prevent global catastrophe and achieve nuclear disarmament.

In the increasingly interdependent world stability and security can be assured only on the basis of fair and equitable economic relations, the drafts stress. In this regard, the international community faces a task of an unprecedented scope. It can be accomplished only by the joint efforts of industrialised and developing countries, their cooperation in creating a new international economic order.

In view of the events occurring in Namibia, the non-aligned ministers urged the international community to take urgent measures guaranteeing the fulfillment of the agreements on Namibia's decolonisation.

Captain Outlines NATO's Naval Forces Capability

Aircraft Carriers' Role

PM2405130189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Part one in series of articles by Captain First Rank Ye. Nikitin: "Naval Component of Offensive Forces: Part I. Aircraft Carriers"; first two paragraphs are introduction; footnote states that the article is based "on foreign press materials"]

[Text] In contrast to the ground forces on which talks are now being held between the Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, the activity of the naval forces in the waters adjoining our continent and in the world ocean as a whole remains outside of any control, so that military opposition and the risk of military confrontation are maintained. The situation is exacerbated by the West's great military supremacy at sea, which it in no way wants to give up.

Today we begin publishing a series of articles on the offensive nature of the development of the NATO countries' navies, primarily the U.S. Navy, and their surprise attack capability.

Aircraft carriers, which appeared for the first time in Britain during World War I, subsequently occupied an important place in the structure of the U.S. Navy and that of a number of other countries. They rapidly became well known as one of the main instruments in the implementation of the imperialist states' aggressive policy. Instead of the sinister "gunboat diplomacy," "aircraft carrier diplomacy," which is even more dangerous for the cause of peace and whose pernicious results are well known, was adopted.

You don't have to look far for examples: We shall recall the U.S. aggressive actions against Libya and Lebanon. The main agent of armed intervention there was the U.S. Navy, and primarily aircraft carriers with nuclear and conventional ammunition. For many years U.S. aircraft carriers located in the Persian Gulf zone exacerbated even more the already dangerous situation in this region. During the British-Argentine armed conflict over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands in 1982 British aircraft carriers took an active part in combat operations.

The modern aircraft carrier is the largest combat surface ship; its main strength consists of attack, fighter, and antisubmarine warfare [ASW] aircraft—a total of up to 100 airplanes and helicopters, which include up to 40 nuclear-armed ground attack aircraft. Its displacement reaches almost 100,000 tonnes, and its maximum speed exceeds 30 knots. It is calculated that the aircraft carrier can carry up to 140 nuclear munitions. The crew consists of about 6,000 men.

At present the NATO navies have about 25 aircraft carriers, while the Warsaw Pact countries have only 4, which, incidentally, are called upon to resolve tasks which altogether preclude their use as the Navy's strike force. The U.S. Navy has 15 aircraft carriers, including 5 nuclear-powered ones. And in spite of this massive supremacy, the growth of the aircraft carrier fleet continues. Moreover, only nuclear aircraft carriers are being built. Carrier-based aircraft are also being modernized on the basis of the latest scientific and technical achievements. As we see, this element of NATO's navies both in quantity and in strike capability exceeds many times over the maritime communications defense requirements which are discussed so much in the United States and other countries of NATO.

Placing aircraft carriers, primarily U.S. carriers, in forward positions clearly has an offensive purpose. Nuclear-powered aircraft carriers accord in the best possible way with the requirements of Washington's proclaimed concept of "strategies of competition," which is calculated to add a new twist to the arms race by utilizing the latest achievements of science and technology. According to foreign press reports, a promising particle-beam weapons system, which is being developed [razrabatyvat] within the framework of the SDI program, is being created [sozdat] to fit this class of ships.

How is it proposed to utilize the aircraft carriers? What new elements have emerged in this respect in recent years?

In the U.S. Navy, for example, aircraft carriers operate as part of operational-tactical formations: carrier battle groups and combined units. A typical carrier battle group usually includes one aircraft carrier and 8-10 escorts—cruisers, destroyers, frigates, and nuclear submarines. A carrier force consists of 2-3 carrier groups. The monitored airspace zone in a carrier battle group's area of responsibility exceeds 1,000 km. The carrier battle group has at its disposal means to counter both surface ships and submarines. In other words, the carrier battle group is a well-protected mobile launchpad for delivering deep, primarily aircraft and missile, strikes against enemy territory, utilizing both conventional and nuclear weapons.

As part of battle, ASW, and multirole groups, aircraft carriers are capable of resolving the most diverse tasks, including military-political tasks. For example, they are the main instrument of pressure to ensure implementation of the "from a position of strength" policy. Western strategists also regard them as a unique means of conducting combat operations in local wars. In their opinion, aircraft carriers, representing a sufficiently powerful grouping of strike aviation which can operate with high intensity and pressure, are the most mobile element of the Navy and even of the Armed Forces as a whole. Within 24 hours an aircraft carrier is capable of covering a distance of more than 1,200 km. The importance of their role in gaining domination at sea and air supremacy is also stressed. Aircraft carriers are regarded as the main force protecting maritime communications.

In recent years the Pentagon, in building up the combat potential of its carrier forces, has particularly been emphasizing the enhancement of their offensive capabilities. For example, matters of coordinating the actions of carrier-based aircraft against ground targets with the launching of ship-borne Tomahawk long-range cruise missiles began to be rehearsed for the first time at naval exercises in spring of last year.

Moreover, the coordination of offensive actions is being conducted not only within the Navy framework but also between types of armed forces. So, according to foreign press information, the activity of the U.S. 3d Fleet in the northern half of the Pacific is being organized in close interaction with the USAF command in the Alaska zone. According to a statement by U.S. specialists, issues of "the interaction of SAC's [Stategic Air Command] B-52 bombers with naval aviation in resolving the tasks of war at sea and delivering strikes against ground targets" have already been worked out.

It should be noted that this year it is planned to activate the so-called over-the-horizon-backscatter OTH-B radar station in the Aleutians, whose range, as reported by the foreign press, is more than 3,300 km. This will not only expand the surveillance zone for airborne targets but will significantly increase the range of the strike forces, including that of carrier-based aircraft. The 168th tanker air squadron has been formed at Eielson Air Base (Alaska) to increase the capabilities of the attack forces. Its KC-135E tanker aircraft, which are used for the in-flight refueling of F-15 fighters and airborne warning and control system aircraft, will also be utilized to support the actions of carrier-based attack aircraft.

If we take the example of the Atlantic Theater of Military Operations, several years ago it was intended that in the event of a "crisis" three-four aircraft-carrying multirole groups would be deployed by the Pentagon in the North Atlantic alone. This means that there will be 120-160 nuclear-armed aircraft close to Soviet shores intended to deliver strikes against the greater part of our country's European territory.

So what have we got? On the one hand, thanks to efforts by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and reciprocal steps on the part of the United States and its allies, positive results have been achieved in the nuclear arms reduction sphere (the conclusion and implementation of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles). On the other hand, the United States and its NATO allies are continuing the arms race, including a nuclear arms race, at sea. So, in place of the land-based Pershing-2 and cruise missiles being eliminated in Europe the United States is expanding its capability to move at any time into the waters washing the shores of the European continent hundreds of carrier-based nuclear-armed aircraft which threaten strikes against the territory of the Warsaw Pact states. It is clear to every unbiased person that such a policy both directly contravenes the agreed principles of strengthening mutual security and stability by reducing arms and seriously threatens the cause of peace.

Cruise Missiles' Role

PM2505090189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Part two in series of articles by Captain First Rank Ye. Nikitin: "Naval Component of Offensive Forces: Part II. Cruise Missiles"; footnote states that the article is based "on foreign press materials"]

[Text] NEWSWEEK reports that a group of Pentagon experts have played thousands of hours' worth of war games on computers. These produced the well-known concept of "strategies of competition." Along with other concepts it examines the question of long-range sea-launched cruise missiles [SLCM]. "In the event of war," group leader D. Kloske [name as transliterated] points out, "U.S. naval forces should first respond to a Soviet attack on West Europe by launching several cruise missiles from ships in the North and Mediterranean Seas against Soviet rear force concentrations, which would still be in the western part of the Soviet Union."

We will leave to the writer's conscience his fabrications about the Soviet Union's alleged intention to attack West Europe. The entire world knows about the peace-loving policy of the USSR and its Warsaw Pact allies, and their profoundly defensive doctrine.

Nor should something else be forgotten: SLCMs are being built up in the United States and readied for use in combat under the cover of fabrications about a possible Soviet attack. These missiles are one of the most important components of naval offensive forces. Moreover, they are also first-strike weapons, which is admitted by Thomas K. Simer [last two elements as transliterated], one of the developers of the cruise missile: "In my 23 years at the Rockwell International missile department I actively participated in the implementation and improvement of cruise missile projects, starting with the Condor—the first missile in this series. That is why I can state with the utmost assurance that cruise missiles are undoubtedly offensive weapons, first-strike weapons, and completely useless if not intended for a surprise attack."

It should be recalled that back at the time when the SALT II Treaty was being drafted the Soviet Union proposed a complete ban on long-range cruise missiles in all basing modes, or, if the United States was not prepared for this, restricting them to the greatest degree possible. Restrictions on the deployment of ground-launched cruise missiles [GLCM] and SLCMs with a range of more than 600 km are envisaged by the protocol to the SALT II Treaty. And in the Joint Statement of Principles and Basic Guidelines for Subsequent Soviet-U.S. Negotiations the sides pledged to examine the issue of GLCMs and SLCMs in the future with a view to reaching a final decision on them. However, the United States rushed to declare the Protocol to the SALT II Treaty null and void soon after it refused in general to ratify the treaty as a whole.

In order to get a better idea of the danger posed by the naval arms race and, in particular, by the Pentagon's large-scale equipping of surface ships and submarines with long-range cruise missiles, we would briefly recall the combat capabilities of these kinds of naval weapons. The guidance system is a very important element in any missile. The Tomahawk SLCM's guidance system ensures high targeting accuracy. Its circular error probability over a range of 2,000 km is 200 m. It can use the standard 123-kg W-80 nuclear munition as a warhead. According to a foreign press report, other warhead charge options are possible—specifically, chemical and neutron munitions.

According to U.S. press reports, the U.S. Navy plans to buy 3,994 Tomahawk cruise missiles. Of these, 85 percent (including 758 nuclear-tipped missiles) are for attacking shore-based targets, and 15 percent—or 593 missiles—are for attacking ships. In all, the Pentagon plans to equip 107 nuclear submarines and 91 surface ships with Tomahawks by the midnineties. "Tomahawks," Admiral Hostettler, leader of the cruise missile program, told Congress, "allow literally all the Navy's ships, not just carrier battle groups, to conduct offensive operations when necessary, and in any part of the globe."

The more than tenfold increase in the number of sea-based platforms (which is what carriers now are) for striking against shore-based targets boosts the Navy's offensive potential very substantially, even if the improvements to the missiles themselves are not taken into account. But such improvements have been under way in the United States for many years. New-generation SLCMs will be supersonic and utilize stealth technology. According to foreign press figures, range will be increased from 2,500 to 4,250 km. It is planned to equip the missiles with an apparatus which can assess the level of radar field emitted by enemy air defense station systems and select the safest and optimum route to the target. It is also planned to considerably improve the missile's terminal guidance system. In particular, the foreign press notes, specialists are working not only on the problem of increasing accuracy (they are striving to bring it down to a few meters) but also on equipping the missile with a system for evaluating the situation in the target area. For instance, if a target has already been put out of action by other means, the missile is to automatically retarget itself.

The offensive potential of SLCM delivery platforms is also increased as a result of improvements to launchers. Thus, for several years now surface ships and submarines have been equipped with Mk41 general-purpose vertical launchers. These, on the one hand, make it possible to substantially increase the inventory of Tomahawks aboard the delivery platform, and, on the other hand, make the verification problem more difficult. All this is aimed, as is being noted abroad, at confusing the likely enemy. Admiral T. Hayward, former chief of the U.S. Naval Staff, stated bluntly that "the deployment of nuclear cruise missiles on various submarines and surface ships will present enemy strategists with an entirely new list of alarming unknowns."

Recognition of the extremely dangerous growth for the cause of peace in the "list of alarming unknowns" prompted the USSR and the United States to conclude a treaty eliminating ground-launched intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, including cruise missiles. When assessing the immense significance of this truly historic event we should not, however, close our eyes to the fact that the massive deployment of long-range cruise missiles on US Navy surface ships and submarines is nothing other than an attempt to replace the ground-launched missiles that are being scrapped with naval missiles that are even more sophisticated, dangerous, and unpredictable in terms of their consequences.

And, although in the course of the Washington summit in December 1987 the leaders of the USSR and the United States agreed to set maximum levels on long-range SLCMs and to seek ways of effectively verifying

them, the U.S. side's attitude to the implementation of this agreement cannot be termed constructive, to put it mildly. Thus, 6 months after the summit, M. Kampelman, head of the U.S. delegation at the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms, stated in response to a question from a DER SPIEGEL correspondent about possible agreements on the limitation of SLCMs: "I doubt if there is a practical way to do this." He continued: "Needless to say, we are not even thinking of entering into agreements that could substantially limit naval forces."

The situation with regard to long-range SLCMs has even deteriorated since then. Whereas in early 1988 the U.S. Navy had 150 nuclear Tomahawks, specialists from the Washington Institute for Policy Research attest that there will be 500 Tomahawks by 1992.

At last week's Moscow talks the Soviet side drew the attention of U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker to the need to resolve the matter of limiting long-range SLCMs within the context of a treaty on strategic offensive weapons. Specific Soviet proposals on ways of limiting such missiles and on an extensive [razvernutyy] verification system are on the negotiating table. They are waiting for a constructive response. It was reemphasized that without an agreement on limiting SLCMs there could be no effective agreement on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons.

Not avoiding the resolution of this urgent and acute problem, and not exacerbating the creeping "SLCM disease" in our nuclear era, but taking urgent measures to eradicate its threat—this must be the choice for politicians guided not by the ossified postulates of the past but by common sense and new thinking.

Submarine Detection Assessed

PM2505093589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Part three in series of articles by Captain First Rank Ye. Nikitin: "Naval Component of Offensive Forces: Part III. 'Defense' for the Purposes of Attack"; footnote states article is based "on foreign press materials"]

[Text] The efforts of the U.S. Navy and NATO aimed at detecting at any moment all submarines which are patrolling or which are in transit and at establishing surveillance over them are acquiring ever greater scope.

A whole package of forces and weapons, now called the unified system of surveillance and observation at sea, plays a very important part in the fulfillment of offensive operations by the NATO countries' military fleets. And not simply offensive but also strategic operations. It is not for nothing that the actual antisubmarine warfare [ASW] system is called strategic in the West. And, as U.S. military expert Dzh. Uit [name as transliterated] admits in the journal SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, "The ability to wage antisubmarine warfare successfully is becoming an important step toward acquiring first strike potential." In other words, it is what is called "defensive" for the purposes of attack.

What is the U.S.-NATO unified system of surveillance and observation at sea?

It is based on the SOSUS fixed system for the long-range hydroacoustic detection of submarines. Its submarine detector network unites hundreds of hydrophones installed on the U.S. continental shelf and on underwater plateaus in the Atlantic and Pacific, on ASW lines running through Greenland, Iceland, the Faroe Islands, and Britain and along the range of the Aleutian and Kurile Islands.

The hydrophones are joined by cables to shore stations which automatically process the signals. The determination of the location of a source of hydroacoustic radiation is performed on the basis of signals from several hydrophones at some distance from each other. The information is fed into the single automated network of a joint intelligence center. The system's range is several hundred kilometers.

Foreign specialists note as a shortcoming of the system the relatively low level of accuracy in determining the location of targets. To compensate for this shortcoming the SOSUS fixed station is supplemented by the NATO countries' maneuverable forces.

Aircraft of the base patrol air force possess greater mobility and maneuverability and considerable strike potential. The main aircraft is considered to be the U.S. P-3C "Orion." The predominant method of search is through the guidance of the SOSUS system. These aircraft also carry out independent patrolling in designated regions, traveling up to 1,500 km from the air base.

The task of surface ships, it is believed in the United States and NATO, comes down mainly to patrolling in channel zones, tracking submarines on ASW lines, taking part in ASW operations as part of ship hunter-killer groups, and ensuring the safety of assault detachments and convoys. Ship helicopters have considerably expanded the potential of surface ships in seeking and destroying submarines. Their zone of operation is 10-15 times greater than the range of modern ASW missile complexes. For instance, it is over 350 KM on the "Sea King" helicopter.

Submarines are considered to be a very important element of the maneuverable forces. As the journal PROCEEDINGS notes, "The best means of fighting submarines is the submarine itself." That is explained by the fact that in contrast to surface ships nuclear-powered submarines, with a virtually unlimited range of navigation, are independent of sea turbulence and the state of the weather and have the best conditions for the operation of hydroacoustic facilities. They can also wage combat in those regions where the operations of other

forces are ruled out, for instance close to enemy naval bases. AP reports that "an increasing number of the submarines of Britain and the other NATO countries are to patrol close to the Soviet Union, fulfilling observation missions and playing a 'cat and mouse' game with Soviet ships." The agency gives as the reason for the patrol sailings by NATO nuclear-powered submarines in the Barents Sea the reduction in the number of sorties by Soviet submarines "beyond their territorial waters."

The submarines can be used singly or in groups and also in collaboration with surface ASW ships, aircraft, and helicopters. According to the foreign press, the range of detection of targets by submarines is 50-90 km. Their main weapon consists of ASW rockets, wire-guided and homing torpedoes, and mines.

Such, basically, are the structure and functioning of the unified system of surveillance and observation at sea. In recent years their impact has increased immeasurably on the progress and outcome of combat not only at sea but also to a considerable degree on dry land. Above all because the broad-scale ASW system is aimed at backing up the actions of U.S. nuclear-powered missile-carrying submarines designed to strike the most important ground targets.

In addition, the unified system of surveillance and observation at sea is now designed to give cover to surface ships and submarines and consequently to provide backup for a strike by Tomahawk cruise missiles launched from them.

But that is still not all. The nuclear-powered submarines used in ASW are now intended not only to back up a strike by other forces. They themselves are becoming strike submarines. Thus, the journal SEA TECHNOLOGY, noting that even under conditions of budget restrictions the financing of scientific research programs and new developments in the field of antisubmarine defense is being pursued without any reductions, indicates directly that this should give these submarines "strike power and unprecedented participation in operations."

During the discussion in Congress of appropriations for 1989, Admiral C. Trost, chief of staff of the U.S. Navy, stated: "I am placing antisubmarine defense at the center of my activity to strengthen the U.S. Navy's combat potential." This admission also contains the answer to the question of why the U.S. side is responding with a refusal to the Soviet proposals, including the proposal to create agreed regions in which the actions of ASW forces and facilities should be banned.

U.S., British Marines' Role

PM2505094189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Part four in series of articles by Captain First Class Ye. Nikitin: "Naval Component of Offensive Forces: Part IV. Amphibious Landing Operations"; footnote states that article is based "on foreign press materials"]

[Text] In the U.S. Navy there is a category of troops whose offensive nature is manifested particularly vividly. It is the Marines. It may be said that there is not a single regional conflict which does not involve the U.S. Marines, not a single explosive situation without the use or the threat of the use of the Marines. The tragic consequences of the U.S. Marines' participation in various military actions can be found in many countries from Southeast Asia to North Africa, from the Near East to the Caribbean Basin.

In the United States there is every praise for qualities of the Marines such as their mobility and readiness for immediate use. Marines Lieutenant General C. Mundy, deputy chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, has boasted that in the "operation to save Grenada" in 1983 the Marines seized Pearls Airport 36 minutes before the army "rangers" landed at the other end of the island. U.S. Marine subunits have now been prepared for punitive operations in Panama.

The U.S. Marines are designed to take part in amphibious landing operations and to conduct combat operations on coastal sectors in conjunction with the ground forces and air forces in universal and limited wars. The Marines are distinguished in particular by the fact that their organizational structure, stationing, equipping, and combat training are oriented toward conducting offensive operations and, moreover, on the territory of other countries in order to seize other people's lands. It is no accident that Marine divisions, brigades, and battalions are called expeditionary. It is also notable that the Marines are the only category of troops which the U.S. President can use in peacetime without sanction from Congress.

The Marines include regular troops and a reserve. The regular troops number three divisions: The first is on the country's Pacific coast, the second on the Atlantic coast, and the third in Japan (on the island of Okinawa). One regiment of the third division with reinforcement and services subunits is stationed in Hawaii. A fourth division (its headquarters are in New Orleans, Louisiana) makes up the Marines reserve.

The numerical strength of the division's ground forces is about 19,500 men. Their main weapons are tanks, antitank rocket launchers, self-propelled and towed howitzers, mortars, infantry fighting vehicles, armored personnel carriers, and so forth. For air support during an assault landing and during combat operations each division is assigned one air wing (about 400 aircraft and helicopters).

The Marine divisions are now being rearmed.

It is believed that an expeditionary division should have the ability to resolve operational missions. That is why its numerical strength, together with the attached air wing and reinforcement and group rear services subunits, is about 50,000 men.

A feature of the expeditionary division is that its combat use is inextricably linked with the actual Marine element—the amphibious forces—that is special amphibious warfare ships designed to transport Marines to almost any part of the world's oceans. The regular Navy has about 70 amphibious warfare ships of various types capable of simultaneously shipping to an austere coast more than one expeditionary division with its attached formations, units, and subunits. New, more sophisticated amphibious warfare ships are now under construction.

The U.S. military command believes that the most practical and expedient troop formation from the viewpoint of the Marines' combat application is the expeditionary brigade designed to resolve operational-tactical missions. It includes a regimental amphibious landing group (two-five Marine battalions with reinforcement subunits), a mixed aviation group and rear services brigade group. It may (when it has five battalions) have up to 53 tanks, 60 field artillery pieces, 200 antitank guided missile launchers, over 200 aircraft and helicopters, and up to 100 amphibious armored personnel carriers. The personnel numbers about 16,000 men.

To accelerate the Marines' battle engagement in forward areas combat equipment and material and technical backup facilities are laid in beforehand. Thus, according to foreign press reports, the implementation of a plan to site combat equipment in Norway is nearing completion. Military equipment is also being laid in on special ships, for instance in the region of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. It is planned to deploy an additional 13 new floating stores for three Marine expeditionary brigades.

Great attention is being paid to the personnel's rehearsal of combat missions under extreme conditions. Thus, every year up to 10,000 men undergo training in mountains and under Arctic and other harsh conditions reminiscent of conditions in the USSR. There are also rotating 6-month tours of duty for Marine subunits in the third division on Okinawa in the immediate vicinity of the borders of the Soviet Union, China, and the DPRK.

Plans to use the Marines and bring them into forward areas, landing on austere coasts, and the conducting of combat operations on shore are rehearsed at various exercises. For instance, a fourth expeditionary brigade is formed to take part in the "Team Work" NATO exercises. Expeditionary battalions are enlisted to the U.S.-South Korean "Team Spirit" exercises. The scope and dimensions of these exercises are sometimes hard to distinguish from the deployment of forces for real military operations. It is also indicative that the rehearsal of Marine operations is also conducted at exercises of the interventionist rapid deployment forces, which include the seventh expeditionary brigade.

In recent years the U.S. Navy command has been paying special attention to the elaboration of new concepts for the forces' combat use. With regard to the Marines this has been reflected in the "Phibstrike-95" concept which determines views on amphibious landing operations with a consideration for the adoption of sophisticated amphibious warfare ships, surface effect ships, and new aircraft and helicopters. It is believed that surface effect ships make landing possible on 73 percent of the coast compared with 17 percent of the coast for conventional landing craft. It is planned to carry out the actual landing from distances from the shore in excess of the horizon range ("landing from beyond the horizon"), which also intensifies the element of surprise and reduces the effectiveness of the opposition of the defending forces on the shore.

There are also marines in the navies of a number of other NATO countries. Thus, the British Marines number up to 7,500 men. They include a commando brigade (three battalions of 700 men each), an artillery regiment, a supply and rear services regiment, a squadron of fire support helicopters, and other units and subunits.

The British Marines took an active part in the Anglo-Argentinian conflict in the South Atlantic in 1982. The main military operation there was the landing on the shore of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) of a force of 5,000 men (mainly marines) and combat equipment (30 light tanks, armored personnel carriers, and about 100 artillery pieces and mortars). The landing of troops was at night using Marine landing craft and helicopters. Considerable importance in ensuring the success of the operation was attached to the fact that the landing of the first and subsequent assault waves was preceded by landing on islands and active subversive operations by the reconnaissance and subversion groups.

As THE BALTIMORE SUN noted at the time, U.S. specialists see in the operations of the British landing force in the Falklands (Malvinas) "obvious lessons which can be applied in the far broader European zone."

And so the NATO countries' naval forces developing in accordance with the deterrent, including the nuclear deterrent, concept have a multiple advantage compared with the Warsaw Pact states' naval forces. The NATO and above all the U.S. naval forces are distinguished by the continuing buildup of their capability for a sudden attack and the waging of offensive combat operations.

To eliminate this threat, M.S. Gorbachev has stated, the time has come to begin talks on the reduction of the naval forces of the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO. This is an essential condition for establishing relations between the two alliances on a truly nonconfrontationist basis.

United States & Canada

Bush 24 May Speech on Security Strategy Cited

LD2405211689 Moscow TASS in English 2050 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Washington May 25 TASS—"This is a time of tremendous opportunity," U.S. President George Bush today said in New London, Connecticut, in commencement speech to graduates of the U.S. Coast Guard Academy.

The main topic of this speech, the last major pronouncements by the head of the U.S. Administration ahead of the meeting of the NATO countries' leaders, due to take place on May 29-30, was, as he himself put it, to discuss "security strategy for the 1990s, one that advances American ideals and upholds American aims."

"Our policy is to seize every—and I mean every—opportunity to build a better, more stable relationship with the Soviet Union," the President said. Bush repeated for one more time that he "wants to see perestroyka succeed." He welcomed the USSR's latest proposals on conventional armaments in Europe.

En route to New London an official White House spokesman told journalists that the United States would thoroughly study the serious proposal tabled by the USSR at the Vienna talks.

However, the U.S. President again alleged that the reductions in conventional forces and armaments, envisaged by these initiatives, are allegedly "not enough to eliminate the significant numerical superiority that the Soviet Union enjoys right now." Such theses, which are constantly imposed by Washington officialdom, are meant to divert attention from NATO's edge in several other categories, from the United States' steadfast bid to shy away from negotiations on cutting back naval forces, their armaments, and on monitoring the activity of fleets in sea areas adjacent to Europe.

Emphasizing that the U.S. "aim is nothing less than removing war as an option in Europe," Bush simultaneously underscored the need to carry on "an effective deterrent" policy, one that demonstrates "American strength, American resolve." The President described the consolidation of American nuclear forces as an important element of this policy, underlining the U.S. intention to "develop and deploy a new highly mobile single-warhead missile, Midgetman." He also stated about the United States' "commitment" to go on with the "Star Wars" programme.

Bush once again expressed Washington's disagreement with several U.S. NATO allies who advocate beginning talks with the Soviet Union on reducing tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

'Concrete' Arms Proposals Urged

LD2505131389 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 25 Mar 89

[Yuriy Solton commentary]

[Text] On Wednesday President George Bush delivered a lengthy speech on the world situation and United States strategy. Yuriy Solton has contributed this commentary.

The latest presidential speech contained quite a few sensible ideas. For one, Mr Bush admitted positive change was underway in both East and West, and pointed to the need to do away with the climate of conflict and upheavals. His statement that the United States Administration had been taking steps to lessen the threat coming from both nuclear and conventional weapons would surely be accepted with satisfaction. Although not without reservations, the President welcomed the Soviet initatives to reduce Armed Forces and conventional arms, and described them as inspiring. He reiterated that his administration's policy was to take advantage of every opportunity for improving relations with the Soviet Union and imparting stability to these relations.

Statements of this kind are definitely very important. One can recall that the recent visit to Moscow by the American State Secretary James Baker yielded an agreement to review Soviet-American talks on the key problems of disarmament. Given a goodwill approach from both sides, progress in that direction can well be made. The two countries would also be likely to launch negotiations on 50 percent cuts in their strategic offensive weapons; elimination of chemical arsenals; and advancement in various other areas of disarmament. Mr Bush indicated he viewed the prospects of all that as favorable.

Yet abstract pronouncements need to be backed with specific actions. Regrettably, President Bush again failed in his latest speech to come up with any concrete proposals. Moreover, [words indistinct] of the first part of his speech where he spoke of the need to lessen the nuclear threat, the President confirmed his country's commitment to nuclear weapons, called for no talks on tactical Euromissiles, and announced that the United States would be developing a strategic missile of a new generation and furthering the Star Wars project. Inconsistency of this kind prevents one from getting a more or less distinct idea of the priorities the Bush administration has chosen for its foreign political strategy.

One cannot possibly talk, on the one hand, of disarmament and the need for stronger stability and security worldwide, taking no concrete steps in that direction, and on the other, reaffirm one's commitment to force and the nuclear (?deterrence) policy, and then turning into an ever more serious barrier to detente. [sentence as heard] Reports from Washington say the White House is still reviewing its position. One can only wait and see if

any positive change in it will be displayed at the jubilee session of the NATO Council, due later this month, or in the course of further Soviet-American talks on disarmament.

Bush Reacts to USSR Initiatives With 'Inaction'

PM2405130589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent A. Shalnev dispatch under the general rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Differences Remain"]

[Text] Boston—President G. Bush delivered a major speech at Boston University on Sunday. It was the fourth speech in a series conceived by the White House with the aim of explaining its foreign policy program. The topics of the previous three speeches were: relations with countries in Eastern Europe, Latin America, and the Soviet Union. The topic of Sunday's speech was NATO, relations between America and Western Europe, and again, the Soviet Union.

People expected a great deal from the speech—if not major initiatives, then at least relatively specific indications as to when the administration will be ready to put an end to the situation which THE NEW YORK TIMES described as follows: "In the present-day world, which is literally steeped in change, Washington is in a state of paralysis and immobility." Admittedly, G. Bush himself noted that "the countries of the world are undergoing radical change." Furthermore, he intimated that the Washington Administration, too, having carried out the strategic review of its foreign and defense policy, is ready to take up "the challenge." But how? Here is the advice the U.S. President is dispensing: "Do not be complacent!"

According to the head of the White House, "the mounting complacency in the West is causing us serious concern." To explain his exhortation and warning, G. Bush said: "The expectations connected with rapid change must not go so far as to make us forget what is at stake."

The appeal "to be cautious and avoid complacency" is addressed to both Americans and West Europeans. Public opinion polls indicate that in the United States and in West Europe alike the perception of the Soviet Union is changing drastically. According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, "the notion of the Red threat is disappearing altogether." It is this, judging by Bush's remarks, that the White House is afraid of. There obviously are sufficient reasons for these fears since, judging by a poll organized jointly by THE NEW YORK TIMES and the CBS television network, "two-thirds of Americans support Bonn rather than Bush on the question of whether talks on tactical nuclear missiles should or should not be held."

Bonn favors talks. Washington is opposed to them—something confirmed by President Bush in his Boston speech, in which he emphasized in every possible way the importance of preserving and maintaining at the most up-to-date level "the short-range deterrence potential deployed in Europe," that is, tactical nuclear missiles.

The U.S. President could not fail to touch on the initiatives the Soviet Union has put forward of late, including the question of short-range nuclear weapons. However, G. Bush's response sounded strange. "I appreciate the steps Mr Gorbachev is taking," he said. But immediately he added: "Our duty is to temper optimism with caution." Caution, we are given to understand, is inaction in response to the USSR's initiatives.

This is how Massachusetts Senator John Kerry evaluated Bush's speech: "The president," he said, expressing disappointment with Bush's speech, "has yet to define his vision of the world."

According to the White House, G. Bush will continue his series of foreign policy speeches. Strangely, however, the more speeches there are, the less clear the picture becomes as to what course the administration has chosen, having spent several months, if we are to believe its styatements, on a strategic re-evaluation of its foreign and defense policy. Are we again encountering what we experienced at the beginning of the first Reagan administration, when a lack of initiative was accompanied by tough rhetoric, and when all we were doing was wasting precious time? It had seemed that all that was a thing of the past...

U.S. Silent on Bush NATO Talks With Iceland

LD2405134989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] In Washington U.S. President Bush met Icelandic President Vigdis Finnbogadottir. Adhering to the practice employed last month when leaders of other NATO member countries came to the U.S. capital, the White House did not make any official statements on the results of their talks. Some observers reckon this is being done purposely in order not to draw press attention to the continuing discord within NATO on the question of modernizing short-range missiles in Europe. However, White House officials repudiate such allegations, insisting that the administration simply prefers to discuss this problem in confidence.

Baker Rejects NATO-Warsaw Pact SNF Talks

Urges NATO 'Reliable Defense'

PM2505103589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Former Position"]

[Text] The United States continues to oppose not only the total elimination of nuclear weapons on European

territory, but also immediate talks between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing both sides' nuclear tactical arsenals, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker has reported.

What, then, does the United States propose? "We must continue to ensure reliable defense," Baker said. "The President will discuss at the NATO Council session ways to ensure such defense at the lowest possible level as progress is made at the talks on conventional arms; and tactical nuclear forces do, of course, remain a part of such defense." Talks on tactical nuclear arms "would be a mistake," Baker declared, and the United States "has no intention of agreeing to them." At the same time, he emphasized that, "even if such talks do ever take place, no way will we negotiate on the 'third zero.'"

Baker also voiced disagreement with those influential circles in European NATO countries which rate positively the idea of building a "common European home." Instead of efforts to build such a home, Baker advised the European NATO countries to show concern for "common Western values" and preserve NATO as "a shield to protect these values." He thereby gave an unambiguous answer to the appeal the Warsaw Pact countries made as recently as Monday to take steps leading to the simultaneous disbandment of both military-political alliances.

Baker also reported that, under the accord reached, the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic offensive arms will resume 19 June.

U.S. Arms Policy 'Impedes' Progress

LD2405200989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 24 May 89

[By commentator Aleksandr Ruvinskiy]

[Text] Western media are focusing today on the statement by U.S. Secretary of State Baker to the effect that the United States is still against not only full elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe, but also against immediate talks between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO on reducing the nuclear arsenals of both sides. Baker spoke at a news conference at the White House devoted to the forthcoming summit of the NATO council. It appears that the U.S. stand on the dispute with its allies has undergone certain changes. What does my colleague Vladimir Pasko think about it?

[Pasko] Indeed, in the beginning the United States practically ruled out the very possibility of the talks, puzzling not only the East, but the West too. It is not the same anymore. It is said that the United Sates is only against immediate talks. However, in reality that changes very little. Seeking a compromise with the allies who demand agreement to the Warsaw Treaty proposals, the Americans say negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons are only possible after the implementation of decisions of the Vienna conference on conventional forces in Europe has gotten underway. But those decisions are still in the process of being developed. In other words, as it gives its consent for negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons, the United States immediately seeks to shelve them for as long as possible.

[Ruvinskiy] But what, after all, is the reason for such a stand?

[Pasko] The Americans do not hide their negative attitude toward the talks on tactical nuclear weapons. Statements on that account express the worry that the talks might lead to full elimination of those weapons. Reliance on nuclear weapons is the cornerstone of all postulates on which the NATO strategy is based: both the flexible response doctrine and the concept of frontline defense.

In his ABC interview on 26 March, Secretary of State Baker said: If we believe in those doctrines that constitute the very basis and foundations of NATO, it is imperative that there be modern gound-launched missiles in Europe. It is necessary to develop a formula recognizing that fact.

It is not difficult to see that it is exactly that issue that stands behind the current disputes in NATO concerning tactical nuclear weapons. Washington's opponents point to the fact that the policy of deterrence with regard to the East has become obsolete. It has led to a dangerous military confrontation in Europe that poses a threat to the West too. It is stressed that the USSR's new political thinking has been creating conditions for bringing that confrontation level down, for taking the relations with the East out of the rut of confrontation and placing them into the channel of cooperation, and that that chance should be taken.

It is not coincidental that the issue of the bloc's strategy for years to come will be at the center of the forthcoming session of the NATO council. The new spirit is quite strong in Europe, but the resistance to it is active, too.

[Ruvinskiy] But the past experience...[Ruvinskiy changes thought] Life itself has always shown material interests to be behind such resistance too.

[Pasko] No doubt they are present here, too. The issue of U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe is directly linked to the U.S. military presence. The Americans claim they need Lances to provide security for their contingent, which is more than 300,000 strong and is deployed with their West European allies. As long as it is there, the U.S. political influence remains with everything that follows from it. That issue is also the subject of heated debate. But debates are debates; what we need is to proceed from realities. The latter indicate that the U.S. policy, despite certain progress, continue in many respects—I would say, in very many respects—to impede movement toward a safer world.

Shevardnadze Receives U.S. Ambassador 24 May
LD2405180889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Shevardnadze today received U.S. Ambassador Matlock at the latter's request. Certain questions of Soviet-U.S. relations, and also major international political problems were discussed during the conversation.

U.S. Legislators Urge Curbs on Nuclear Tests
PM2205152389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Vitaliy Korionov "Political Observer's Notes": "The Capitol: Letter From 165 People"]

[Text] The U.S. press has published a report on a letter sent to the White House from Washington's Capitol. The letter was signed by almost one-fourth of the members of the Senate (23 senators) and one-third of the members of the House of Representatives of Congress (142 congressmen). "We are urging you," they write the President, "to adopt a policy in support of concluding an accord on considerable new restrictions on underground nuclear tests."

The previous U.S. Administration used to refer to U.S. security interests when it claimed that "nuclear tests will remain absolutely essential in the foreseeable future." But the letter writers declare: "We believe the time has come to revise that policy and to take the first practical steps toward reaching an accord on ending all nuclear tests." Such a step, the document notes, would help strengthen strategic stability and consequently, let us add, for our own part, to ensure the security of the countries that are parties to the treaty, including the United States.

As is known, the 40 states that are parties to the 1963 Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and Underwater have put a joint request to the UN secretary general to hold a conference that will help turn it into a treaty on an all-embracing ban on nuclear tests. It is obvious to realistically-thinking U.S. politicians that it is increasingly risky for Washington to ignore similar demands from a growing number of countries. Addressing the President, the senators and members of the House of Representatives declare: "Your administration must not wait for international pressure to reach a critical pitch, but must, instead, begin formulating its own initiatives aimed at limiting and ultimately banning nuclear tests. We resolutely suggest that you do this..."

I believe that the appeal by representatives of Capitol Hill reflects deep-seated processes currently occurring in broad sections of the U.S. population. Speaking of serious differences in the stance of the administration and considerable U.S. public circles, Richard Nukkio [name as transliterated], research coordinator at the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies in Washington, states: "There is a gap between the debate in Washington and the public debate. The idea of being tough and waiting for the Soviets to make new concessions makes sense, until you look at the attitude of the public."

There has not yet been any official reaction from the White House to the letter from a large group of legislators. Delivering a speech at Texas A & M University, the President said: "In nuclear testing we will continue to seek the necessary verification [proverka] improvements in existing treaties to permit them to be brought into force."

Of course, the verification [proverka] procedure should be improved. But the basis of such a system has already been created. And, as the joint Soviet-U.S. experiments in Nevada and in the Semipalatinsk region confirmed, it is a very reliable basis. The practice of implementing the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles also attests that the Soviet Union and the United States have drawn up an efficient mechanism for verifying [kontrol] the fulfillment of agreements of this kind.

It is also known that the Soviet Union is a consistent advocate of very strict verification [kontrol] of the implementation of disarmament agreements. This is a legitimate question: Why does Washington return time and again to the problem of verification [kontrol]? Perhaps the answer should be sought in an article by J. Smith that appeared recently in THE WASHINGTON POST and which pointed out that the White House "is opposed to fulfilling the nuclear test ban treaty as long as the United States is dependent on the nuclear deterrence factor to ensure the West's security and international stability."

U.S. officials have declared, the newspaper continues, that the administration will in all probability abide by the former U.S. stand at the talks, which led these talks into an impasse under President Reagan.

If this is really how things stand, then the appeal by a large group of U.S. legislators to the administration head assumes, in my view, still greater topicality.

'Favorable Climate' for U.S.-Soviet Trade Seen
PM2305145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent V. Gan dispatch: "Tremendous Potential"]

[Text] Washington, May—When the 12th annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC] ended in the Washington suburb of McLean, there were no two opinions. The participants in this

session unanimously called it unique in the entire 16-year history of this organization, which is already unique in itself and includes representatives of the USSR and the United States united by the aim of developing bilateral trade.

"A unique organization, a unique session. Is that not an exaggeration?" I asked V.L. Malkevich, chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry.

"Not at all," he replied. "This session really was unique, with nothing like it in the past. Both in terms of scale—approximately 600 people participated in the work—and in terms of activeness and profound interest in working out specific projects. Represented on the Soviet side were not just enterprises, associations, and science-and-production organizations, but also, for the first time, joint ventures, cooperatives, and collective farms with the right of access to a foreign market."

During the 3 days of ASTEC sessions the assembled people discussed both the prospects and the present state of trade and economic ties. Five documents on specific cooperation were signed. The Monsanto Company and the Soviet "Biogen" scientific and technical complex reached agreement on joint research in the sphere of biotechnology in three areas—agriculture, livestock raising, and medicine. A contract to produce the beverage Fiesta was signed between the Pepsico Company and the All-Union Association for Fruit Imports. A U.S. commercial exhibition will be held in the USSR in October this year through the joint efforts of ASTEC and "Ekspotsentr." Finally, an agreement was signed to begin talks on creating a consortium with the participation of six U.S. companies.

A general resolution was adopted on the results of the annual meeting, which notes with satisfaction the favorable climate for the substantial development of trade and economic ties between the two countries. ASTEC rated highly the restructuring processes in the USSR, which, in its opinion, are opening up new prospects and creating new opportunities for a mutually advantageous partnership. Calling for U.S. trade policy to be revised and for discriminatory restrictions to be lifted, the session's participants declare: "We are firmly convinced that trade is an instrument of peace that can make a significant contribution to improving relations between the two countries."

TASS, AP Sign Cooperation Agreement

LD1805091489 Moscow TASS in English 1956 GMT 17 May 89

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Chytov]

[Text] New York May 17 TASS—The news agency of the Soviet Union TASS and the United States major news agency ASSOCIATED PRESS [AP] concluded a new agreement on cooperation on Wednesday. During a ceremony at the ASSOCIATED PRESS central office in New York, the document was signed by TASS Director-General Leonic Kravchenko and President of the Associated Press Luis Boccardi.

The agreement which is in operation from January 1 of the current year envisages broad exchange of news service and photo information between the two news agencies in the spirit of equal professional cooperation. It is to operate for five years to be subsequently extended every year.

During the signing of the agreement Kravchenko and Boccardi had a friendly conversation during which they expressed mutual satisfaction with the development of contacts between TASS and AP. The president of the American news agency said that he was pleased with the fact that even in the most trying years for Soviet-American relations mutual confidence had never run out. He expressed the confidence that the document signed would be a worthy contribution to the stepping up of relations.

China

Trade, Military Benefits of Summit Viewed

LD2405214189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 24 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Commentator Aleksandr Serikov presents the international section:

[Serikov] Good evening! [passage omitted] The results of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to the PRC, as before, are being widely discussed throughout the world. Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, IZVESTIYA's political observer, was in China at that time as his newspaper's special correspondent.

Vitaliy Ivanovich, what in your opinion is the main importance of the Soviet-Chinese meetings?

[Kobysh] The main outcome, of course, was the normalization of interstate and interparty relations. It is even difficult for me to imagine now what has happened. We have still not fully come to terms with the significance of this factor both for our country and for China, and for the whole region and the whole world and mankind. Great socialist powers, nuclear powers, have restored relations, not only on interstate but also on interparty lines.

[Serikov] Vitaliy Ivanovich, what do you think? In what way can an improvement in relations between our two peoples affect our lives, the lives of Soviet people?

[Kobysh] There are many factors, many circumstances, and it is also a stupendous thing that both sides have virtually agreed to pull back their armed forces from

their borders. This border is 7,000 km long, or even longer, the longest border in the world. We are releasing immense armed forces and we will no longer bear such immense expenditures, such unnecessary expenditures.

But that may not be the main thing. The main thing, of course, is the immense potential of the as yet unutilized scientific-technical and economic cooperation. China has achieved striking success in these recent few years of reforms. This is a country that has now flooded the United States with its textiles. China exports to the United States alone textiles worth $10 billion.

China has many other goods of first-class world standards, and the Chinese are very interested in our products, not just raw materials. Raw materials do interest them, but they are also interested in our ready-made products: machinery and machine-tools, and they aleady have specific proposals for exchange and cooperation. It is difficult to even imagine what gigantic resources there are here.

Trade is already underway, and cooperation, especially on the border, but in the future I envision a flow of first-class Chinese goods here, and also a flow of our products that are not yet in great demand on the world markets, but perhaps thanks to China will start to spread to other countries.

Soviet Reporting on PRC Unrest Defended

LD2405223689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 24 May 89

[From "The World Today" program presented by Igor Kudrin]

[Text] Events in China: This is the main news today and has been for the last few days. Reports and articles on this subject are occupying prominent places in the world press and on television and radio. What is being especially highlighted in these events? The fact that the student protest is supported by the army, workers, and intelligentsia and that the protests do not have an antisocialist coloring.

Certain unscrupulous Western journalists, though, have not only hastened to announce for the umpteenth time a crisis of world communism, but have taken upon themselves the role of oracles, forecasting that events on that scale should be expected in nearly all socialist states, the Soviet Union included. Another unscrupulous maneuver by Western colleagues is curious, too. They rebuke us, the Soviet media, for allegedly passing over in silence the events in China. A VOA [Voice of America] announcer, while somewhat gloatingly quoting a Baltimore newspaper yesterday, said the Soviet people learn about China only from Western sources. I should say that while listening to that fabrication I was watching on my television a report from the PRC and was holding an evening edition of IZVESTIYA, which had a profound and interesting report by the newspaper's correspondent in Beijing.

It is another matter that the intensive life in China over the last few days is causing us concern; we want to hear as soon as possible about a favorable and peaceful solution to the problems that have arisen, for this involves our neighbor, a great socialist power, relations with which should be improving even faster after Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's visit.

Reports on Continued Beijing Demonstrations

Demonstrators Arrive From Provinces

PM2505103189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by correspondent Yu. Savenkov: "Beijing: Demonstrations Are Not Abating"]

[Text] Beijing—About 1 million inhabitants took to the streets of Beijing Tuesday. It was the biggest demonstration since the declaration of martial law in some parts of the city.

XINHUA news agency reports that, in addition to students and teachers, representatives of the most diverse strata of the population including representatives of the mass media, culture, and science, and employees of enterprises and government institutions took part in this demonstration. The participants included students from various parts of the country who are continuing to arrive in the capital.

At night those on Tiananmen square gave a tumultuous reception to the columns of demonstrators from Anhui Province and Xian and Tangshan cities. Incidentally, this morning the radio broadcast a statement by the State Committee for Education sounding a note of anxiety: It is time to go to classes. Further delay will reflect on the training of cadres and influence the selection of new students and the assignment of those graduating from higher educational establishments, since they will have to make up for what they have missed. The committee also appeals to the common sense of teachers and parents..

XINHUA notes that "the overwhelming majority of the demonstrators' slogans were aimed against the head of the PRC State Council." Other slogans demanded the withdrawal of troops, the ending of martial law, the defense of the Constitution, and the guarantee of human rights.

On Tuesday, at 1500 hours, the students detained three people from Hunan Province who had poured a mixture of black ink, oil paint, and egg shells on a portrait of Mao Zedong that hangs permanently in the square on the Tiananmen gates. Later it emerged that one of them was

an artistic editor, another a secondary school teacher, and the third a worker. They had arrived in Beijing 19 May and took part in demonstrations. After questioning them the students handed over all three to the authorities. The public security organs reported that many angry citizens are demanding that the culprits be severely punished. A television correspondent asked the three whether someone had incited them to these actions. The reply was: "We are responsible for this action ourselves." An hour after the incidents the portrait had been covered with a green canvas cloth. A new portrait is hanging today in the usual place.

In the afternoon an unexpected thunderstorm with heavy gusts of wind descended on Beijing. The Beijing citizens responded enthusiastically to the Red Cross Society's appeal and brought warm clothing, blankets, plastic coverings, and hot food for the students taking part in a sit-down demonstration on the square. The demonstration is continuing.

'Order Being Restored'

PM2405152989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "Demonstrations Continue, Order Being Restored"]

[Text] Beijing—Tuesday was the 4th day since martial law was declared in certain parts of Beijing. Troops are still standing by in the area awaiting orders.

The Beijing Municipal Government and the Army Staff, which is expected to implement the martial law order, have appealed to the population to do everything to restore order as quickly as possible. The considerable influx of people from different ends of the country, the appeal states, is increasing difficulties with regard to restoring order. The authorities express the hope that the migrants will return home as soon as possible. At the same time, they have appealed to the people of Beijing to remain in their workplaces.

Some 7,000 students left Beijing last night. They included students from Shanghai and Tianjin universities. This was the first large batch. The point is that despite chronic overcrowding on the trains, more than 70,000 students arrived in the capital from 16 through 19 May, even coming from remote places, to support the Beijing students' hunger strike in Tiananmen Square. The Beijing station management has organized special centers where students are issued free tickets on presentation of their student identity cards. The system of free tickets will operate through 25 May.

Tiananmen Square still resembles a nomad encampment. Kitchens are smoking (residents and canteen workers voluntarily deliver food here). Nearby food stores grant the students a 50-percent discount. There are tents and awnings in the square. On Monday the temperature in Beijing reached 32 degrees at times, and the awnings were lifesavers. Some students are reading textbooks and preparing for examinations right in the square. Nearby, people in white coats, volunteer physicians, are ready to assist at any moment. Nurses distribute medicines among the students. On the ground can be seen ropes used to create corridors for ambulances to pass through.

Following the previous sleepless night caused by widespread rumors that troops had received orders to clear the square, last night passed calmly. People slept in tents, under awnings, and in the buses that still stand at the edge of the square on the side of the stands and the Tiananmen Gate. Over loudspeakers the students urged the workers who had joined them—gas workers, plumbers, power workers, and transport service workers—to return to their places. Many Beijing students have already begun returning to the institutes, but tens of thousands from other cities are still in the square.

How will events develop now? Beijing Radio has reported that the student leaders have different views on continuing the demonstration. Some believe that it is possible to call an end because the aim they set themselves of reviving the spirit of democracy in China has already been achieved; others insist on continuing the demonstration.

At night a mighty column of hundreds of motorcycles sped around the third ring girdling the city's central districts, filling the darkness with strident noise. They were accompanied by dozens of trucks with demonstrators waving flags and chanting: "The people will win!"

Demonstrations in other corners of the city resembled popular promenades. Yesterday evening a column of the Beijing intelligentsia, including journalists, visited Tiananmen Square to express support for the students.

The Beijing transport situation is gradually returning to normal, after being virtually paralyzed for 2 days. Half the bus routes were already operating on Tuesday, albeit some of them only in part. Complete statistics do not yet exist, but according to figures from the traffic police in Beijing's East District, the number of road accidents, including those among cyclists, is considerably lower than usual. Just six accidents and six casualties have been recorded—considerably fewer than the usual figures. Radio, television, and the newspapers also report that there have been practically no robberies or pickpocketing offenses. They all point to people's goodwill and self-control, even in critical situations.

Obstructions and barricades set up at intersections in the path of troops following the announcement of martial law have begun to be cleared. The radio has reported that 70,000 volunteers are participating in this work, including many students. The newspaper CHINA DAILY cites the words of a Beijing resident: "Order is being restored in the city. I do not think we need the help of so many soldiers."

Deng Yingchao, the widow of Zhou Enlai, who was head of government without a break from the first days of the PRC's birth, has written an open letter to the students and to all citizens, in which she voiced concern at what is happening and expressed the hope that social stability will be restored in the capital.

'Calm' Reported; Li Ruihuan Comments

LD2405172389 Moscow TASS in English 1642 GMT 24 May 89

[By TASS correspondents Marat Abulkhatin, Gennadiy Krivosheyev and Oleg Mastryukov]

[Text] Beijing, May 24 TASS—The situation in the Chinese capital was calm during the day. Flatbed trucks and buses with youth, bedecked with red flags, banners, and posters, occasionally drove in the city. Small convoys of students periodically marched along the Chanan Avenue. At Tiananmen Square, crammed with buses, tents, ambulances and water tanks, participants in youth protests sit, sleep, walk and engage in debates among the mounds of clothes and food scraps. Small groups of students from provincial towns are also seen there carrying flags, banners and chanting slogans "Long live the students" and "Long live the people." There is a strong smell of disinfectants.

A new leaflet, signed "The veteran of the army," was found at Tiananmen and Beijing Hotel. It says: "The army always supported and will support the people, the students' struggle found a warm response in the Army. The people and the Army are united." Another leaflet, signed "students," says: "We have already achieved victory and it belongs to people. Let us fight to final victory. We urge immediately to convene an emergency session of the parliament," its authors say.

Central television broadcast footage of a meeting of cadre workers at Tianjin, which was addressed by Li Ruihuan member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, secretary of the city party committee and the city mayor. Li Ruihuan said, in particular, that different strata of the population had quite understandable differences in assessing the student demonstrations. At the same time, he said, preventing unrest and ensuring normal conditions of life, work and education is an urgent task at the current stage. It is inadmissable that anyone should provoke unrest under any pretexts.

PRC Teams Aid Chita Oblast Construction

PM2505125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Teams From PRC at Construction Sites"]

[Text] Chita, 23 May—An automatic telephone exchange has been under construction for several years in Chita. But it is only in the last few months that work has been in full swing, and now equipment has been installed at the telephone exchange. Teams of construction workers from the PRC have helped the Siberians move forward construction of the exchange and also construction of many other facilities.

"The Long-Term Program for the Development of the Far East provides for a considerable increase in construction volumes in Chita Oblast in a very short space of time," I. Molotkov, first deputy chief of the "Zabaykalstroy" Territorial Construction Association, said. "But how was this task to be resolved when our collective alone was short approximately 3,000 construction workers? We considered several options for additional recruitment of manpower resources, and inviting construction workers from the PRC proved the most advantageous option. As a result a contract was concluded a few months ago with two construction companies from the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region."

"Approximately 800 workers from China are now working at the 'Transbaykalstroy' Association. In a short time they have assimilated almost R1 million in constructing various facilities, and the quality of their work is good. This first experience has urged us to expand our cooperation. The number of Chinese construction workers at the association will rise to 2,000 this year."

PRC Cross-Border Trade Development Viewed

18300592 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by A. Krushinskiy (Pogranichnyy-Moscow): "Neighborly and Mutually Advantageous"]

[Text] **In Maritime Kray, which is far from Moscow, one of the "remotest" points is considered to be the village of Pogranichnyy, administrative center of the rayon of the same name. You will not find it on any map, and at best it is mentioned two or three times a month in the files of the Vladivostok newspapers. It is located at the rail transshipment station of Grodekovo. Two decades ago, because of the deterioration in Soviet-Chinese relations, activity abated on the transshipment platforms and the village became empty as well. It seemed absurd to build anything here or to undertake anything new. But everything has changed in a year or a year and a half. Once in a while you now meet Chinese on the streets of Pogranichnyy...**

"Landing Party" From Suifenhe

Where in the Far East do we have a better place to order a color photograph for the family album? Perhaps in Khabarovsk or Vladivostok? No, drop into the village of Pogranichnyy at this address: Lenin Street, Building 56.

The contribution of the Soviet side, as one can see from the agreement concerning the establishment of the Raduga photo shop, is the premises, the furniture, the electric energy, and so forth. And the Chinese have

offered two Japanese Nikon cameras, a set of lighting equipment, film, and chemicals. The personnel are representatives of both countries and the profit is divided approximately in half.

"Do you have enough clients when the entire population of the village is 11,000?" I asked V. Denisenko, the director.

"The photography experts go around to the surrounding population points, and orders come in from schools and other institutions," he answered. "I think they are guaranteed 500-600 rubles a month..."

If one considers that the Maritime Kray holds 42d place in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] in terms of per capita consumer services, one can see that the appearance of Raduga is not an insignificant fact. E. Blinov, first secretary of the Pogranichnyy Raykom [rayon committee], does not attach special significance to it yet, however: They have organized it and that is all for the good, but we shall wait and see what comes of it. But do not be in a hurry to reproach Blinov for underestimating the new forms of cooperation.

"In April a group of Chinese peasants crossed the border near Suifenhe in order to spend 6 months with their Soviet colleagues, demonstrating their technology for planting, raising, and harvesting crops. In Pogranichnyy they were met by an orchestra and a slide show welcoming them."

(From an article in the American weekly TIME.)

Yes, it turns out that this small village is well known abroad. And interest in it has been increasing recently. Last summer seven American international specialists, including former U.S. ambassador to the USSR A. Hartman, took a "unique" (according to TIME) trip along both sides of the Soviet-Chinese border. The magazine selected illustrations and reports that were specific, to put it mildly: a diagram for the deployment along the border (according to the American version) of divisions of both countries plus an archive photograph from 1969 taken during one of the confrontations of that time. The report itself is quite correct: It contains both mutually peaceable statements from the Chinese and Soviet military leaders and correctly noted signs of changes in the direction of a good neighbor policy, evidence of which is the unusual "landing force of vegetable growers" from Suifenhe.

Here is what E. Blinov had to say about this:

"There on the Chinese side is a surplus of working hands, and here there is a shortage. But, conversely, when it comes to resources we have the advantage. The idea of the "international contract" which originated at the beginning of 1988 was constructed on this. Its principle: the land is ours, the workers are from Suifenhe; 60 percent of the harvest they raise is ours and the rest is theirs. No sooner said than done! Without delay we selected a section of 87 hectares previously used for haying. Without any red tape they formed a detachment of 67 people, including an economist, an agronomist, and advanced workers. They brought their own seeds, seedlings, and biological growth stimulators. They lived in tents. They worked hard. Once there was an unprecedented downpour that caused a little flooding, so they dug drainage ditches in all the fields.

"They left with what they considered good earnings."

"How did you pay them?"

"The Chinese export firm settled all the accounts with the Chinese," explained Blinov.

"We kept the entire crop, but we paid 40 percent of its value to the firm."

"In hard currency?"

"No, in goods. In exchange they received 70 tons of tomatoes and cucumbers, 160 tons of radishes, and 625 tons of watermelons: they both satisfied the needs of their own population and sold some in Vladivostok..."

Incidentally, I learned later that in Maritime Kray they have grown only 3,000 tons of watermelons so far—so the addition from the "Chinese melons" amounted to 20 percent!

Adviser From the Friendship Society

They way Qin Yude addressed Blinov when he came into the room might surprise the unsuspecting:

"Hello, comrade adviser!"

The raykom secretary answered using approximately the same expressions, and both of their eyes sparkled as though they were playing some special game that only they knew about.

Qin Yude occupies the post of deputy secretary of the Suifenhe Gorkom [city committee]. But on his calling card is the modest inscription: "Adviser of the Society for Sino-Soviet Friendship." Here is the situation: Soviet-Chinese relations have not yet been fully normalized, especially in the international sphere. Therefore, Chinese party workers do not have official contacts with their Soviet colleagues of the same level. But the cooperation between Pogranichnyy and Suifenhe has become so deep that there would simply be no quick solution to many problems without interaction between party workers. And contacts have been established, but under a slight "camouflage."

"The Far Eastern region of the USSR has immense potential in the trade and economic area. It is thought that this region could become one of the large economic zones challenging the world... It is necessary to develop actively

with the USSR such forms of economic activity as the export of labor, the export of light industry products, the development of natural resources, and border trade."

(From an article in the Chinese newspaper LIAONING RIBAO.)

One got the feeling that Qin Yude was glad for the opportunity to speak out to a PRAVDA correspondent in favor of deepening cooperation.

"Many comrades from Pogranichnyy have visited Suifenhe and seen with their own eyes how the city has been transformed. One of the reasons for this is the mutually advantageous cooperation with the USSR that helps overcome the difficulties of both sides," he said. "The government of Heilongjiang Province has granted us the status of an experimental zone for developing border economic ties."

"What is your opinion about the prospects for joint enterprises?"

"This is a very promising business. We are discussing with the Pogranichnyy Rayon consumers' union the possibility of producing sausages, canned meats, nonalcoholic beer, and dry goods. It would seem that the creation of a joint enterprise for procuring silicon would also be justified. Its value on the world market is high and this would be a good source for accumulating foreign currency for purchasing advanced technologies..."

Our discussion got around to the idea of creating special zones for joint business in the Far East.

"I think it would be quite possible to form one of those zones here: To begin with we have a very advantageous geographical position!" said Qin Yude. "After all, Grodekovo is essentially an important 'port.' A port on land. It could be the place for transshipment of a significant share of the cargo from China and from the Asia-Pacific region that is being transported beyond the Urals. The trade would determine the specialization of this zone. Consequently, the processing enterprises created here could also be oriented toward the Soviet and Chinese markets and toward third countries..."

Zone of Acceleration

There are more than 600 various "open economic zones" in the world. I had occasion to visit one of them located near the Chinese city of Tianjin. I remember well how in the middle of the lifeless plane lacking any vegetation, rows of low buildings, elegant ones like castles in the fairy tales of Scheherazade, suddenly sprang up like a mirage. I tried to mentally transfer all this to the village of Pogranichnyy, but it did not work; its image is still rather unprepossessing. I barely mentioned such an open zone to Blinov and he became somewhat embarrassed and began to put down the idea. And in Vladivostok when the conversations with the businessmen there came around to an international melon plantation, the Raduga shop, and other innovations in Pogranichnyy, their tone became somewhat ironic. They said this was nonsense.

When they start to speak about joint business zones here, large-scale categories immediately come to mind, such as, for example, the latest electronic equipment, the $4 billion that were supposed to have been promised by the Japanese financial magnate Otoy, and so forth. There is, however, one "but": These billions, like the superelectronics, are still just a vague possibility, while the innovations in Pogranichnyy, generated by Pogranichnyy cooperation, are a reality. And because of barter (commodity exchange) transactions in Pogranichnyy, 18 percent of the retail trade is in imports. Where else would you find anything like this in our country?

Pogranichnyy Rayon is now striving to take maximum advantage of its geographical position—cooperation with the Chinese is developing in construction, transportation, trade, and consumer services."

(From an article in the kray newspaper KRASNOYE ZNAMYA, Vladivostok).

Another extremely curious fact: During the past year the border was crossed at this point in both directions by more than 30,000 people who are members of delegations for arranging trade and scientific and technical cooperation. They come from Harbin, Jilin, Shenyang, and other cities of northeastern China; from Vladivostok, Khabarovsk, Magadan and other cities of the Soviet Far East. It is time to open a "Hammer Center" in Pogranichnyy! Do not laugh, reader, something similar will be in operation here soon.

It is time to discuss what E. Blinov takes most pride in, the construction boom. The building of an automotive depot faced with glazed slabs and with a white mosaic dove against a blue background has sprung up here. The plan, the work force, and the construction materials are all Chinese. According to the same principles a brick plant with a productivity of 20 million bricks a year will go into operation here soon. For comparison: The construction of duplex houses in the rural regions of Maritime Kray sometimes takes 2-3 years...

Accounts are kept in "physical units"—i.e. cement, fertilizers, timber, fish, and so forth. Where do the leaders of Pogranichnyy obtain their supplies? The kray automotive transportation organization helped pay for the automotive depot since the entire Maritime area is interested in it, and the kray agroprom [agro-industrial association] helped pay for the brick plant (its products also frequently go to the kray).

Of course there are problems—many of them—for it is necessary to operate, to use Blinov's expression, "by the trial and error method." But real progress can be seen. It is not important that this is a small village and the new

construction is on a small scale. This is not a matter of scale. The main thing is that both Pogranichnyy and Suifenhe have achieved acceleration through their good-neighbor ties. Now, as though competing in efficiency and enterprise, they are forming a reliable "juncture complex" for economic mutual assistance between the Soviet Far East and Northeast China, and they are jointly constructing a model of cooperation with equal rights and mutual advantage.

Foreign Investment Development in PRC Assessed

18300595 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences S. Manezhev: "A Useful Supplement: Foreign Investment in the PRC"]

[Text] A reform of the economic system carried out in the People's Republic of China is based on a variety of forms of economic operations. As the program documents of the CPC CC [Central Committee of the Communist Party of China] note, the state sector "should not make restricting and drowning out other forms and methods of economic management the condition for its reinforcement and development." At the same time, setting up facilities with the participation of foreign capital, including joint, as well as completely foreign, enterprises is considered to be "a necessary and useful supplement to the socialist economy of China."

In developing cooperation with foreign capital, the PRC largely proceeds from the assumption that this will provide a new impetus and channels for the influx of modern machinery and technology to the national economy without a major expense and increase in the debt of China, and will help it to elevate its productive forces to a qualitatively new level. Much hope is attached to the development of the export sector of the country, and increased hard-currency proceeds.

Beginning in 1989, more than 100 executive acts have been adopted in China which regulate various aspects of foreign entrepreneurship. More than 20 agreements have been signed with developed capitalist countries on encouraging investment, as well as on the prevention of double taxation. A system of protecting the right of inventors in the sphere of technology transfer has been established.

An important role in attracting foreign investment to China has been assigned to the creation of the so-called SEZ's [Special Economic Zones] in the south of China; they resemble "duty-free zones," "free-enterprise zones," "export-processing zones," and so forth which are common in many countries of the Pacific.

By the beginning of 1989, the setting-up of 16,000 facilities with foreign investment in the amount of $32 billion had been sanctioned in the PRC. Over $14 billion has already been actually invested in the Chinese economy. In the second half of the 1980's, the average annual volume of use of foreign investments amounted to over $2.5 billion, or exceeded the 1979-1980 level by a factor of 9. Entrepreneurs of Chinese extraction residing in Hong Kong, Macao, and adjacent countries of Southeast Asia account for about 60 percent of the volume of capital investment. At the same time, leading international investors have been increasingly making their presence known recently. As a result, as soon as the mid-1980's, China turned into one of the major recipients of private foreign investment in the world.

The policy of selective liberalization in the conditions for the operation of foreign investors is an important prerequisite for the rapid growth of foreign enterprises. In the years 1983 through 1985, they were given a series of economic privileges: from an entire array of tax and tariff preferences and expanding their right to sell their products in the domestic market of the PRC, to the permission to set up foreign-owned enterprises beyond the confines of Special Economic Zones and "opening" to foreign capital 14 coastal cities, the island of Hainan, as well as areas in the deltas of the Yangzi, Zhujiang, and in the south of Fujian Province. In 1988, new open economic regions were set up on the peninsulas of Liaodong and Shangdong. Also, substantial decentralization of management and control over the operation of foreign investors has been introduced. The authorities of provinces and some cities have been given the right to endorse independently projects worth up to $10 million, and in certain cases, up to $30 million.

The use of some elements of modern technology at joint enterprises, as well as the restructuring of their management system, make it possible to achieve tangible results. Labor productivity at the facilities of the Shenzhen Special Zone is more than 6 times higher than on the average in the state industry of the PRC. The efficiency of capital investment is higher by at least a factor of 2. Besides, as a rule, joint enterprises ensure higher quality of products which they turn out, and a considerable expansion of their assortment. Thus, after a joint Chinese-Japanese enterprise "Hitachi-Fujian" was set up at the electronic equipment plant in the city of Fuzhou, an abrupt improvement in quality was noted along with the several-fold growth of production: the duration of reliable operation of TV sets produced by the company has now increased by a factor of more than 10.

In many cases, cooperation with foreign companies facilitates the development of manufacturing of industrial products which are completely new for the PRC, and many of which previously used to be purchased abroad in their entirety. They include equipment for the continuous pouring of steel produced by the Dalian Heavy Machinery Plant in cooperation with iron and steel companies of the FRG, personal computers produced in cooperation with the American "Sperry Corporation," and so forth.

For example, the industrial gross product of the Shenzhen Special Zone grew by a factor of 150 over the last 9 years, coming to 9 billion yuan in 1988. Products of the electronic industry account for 50 percent of industrial production.

At the same time, the actual attraction of foreign investment turned out to be a quite costly endeavor. As it turned out, the creation of special economic zones cannot be ensured through the efforts of foreign investors alone. Considerable outlays by the state were required in order to create infrastructural facilities there, rebuild and relocate Chinese enterprises from the inland areas of the country, relocate production and research and development personnel, build housing, and so forth. Calculations show that 7.5 yuan of state investment resources have to be expended in order to ensure $1 in foreign investment.

As far as the foreign investment proper is concerned, the extremely uneven spatial distribution of it is immediately obvious. Over 80 percent of their volume is concentrated in the most economically developed coastal areas. The industry breakdown of foreign capital investments has not thus far been entirely in line with the needs of the national economy. About one-half of its volume goes to tourism, municipal construction, trade, and other branches of the non-productive sphere, which provide for a rapid recoupment of capital.

In industry, the effort of foreign investors is largely divided between setting up small, poorly equipped assembly enterprises, and construction of capital-intensive facilities in the coal and oil industries, which are geared to output sharing.

Implementing many energy projects is still in the initial stages. The prospects for them are still not clear enough. However, in the foreseeable future their eventual positive effect may be considerably weakened as a result of exports of large amounts of energy carriers from the country. As far as the assembly enterprises, a major segment of which is concentrated in SEZ's, are concerned, they turn out to be almost entirely divorced from the national economy and do little for the actual transfer of modern technology to China, because they are tied to the deliveries of materials, equipment, and technical documentation from abroad. As a result, the rapid industrial growth of Shenzhen is to a large degree attributable to a statistical effect: the value of imported assemblies and components accounts for up to 50 percent of the volume of its industrial product.

Taking into account the fact that on the whole about 70 percent of the output of enterprises with foreign capital participation is sold in the domestic market, this nature of foreign investment brings about the development of a shortage of hard-currency proceeds in joint companies. This does not only restrict the efficiency of their operation, but puts additional pressure on the Chinese balance of payments. In 1985 and 1986, the share of joint enterprises in contributing to the PRC foreign trade deficit came to 10 to 15 percent, whereas they accounted for 1 to 2 percent of the gross industrial product of the country. In the process, joint enterprises have become responsible for about 10 percent of the foreign debt of China. According to the data of the main directorate of hard currency control of China, such debt came to $23.8 billion at the beginning of 1988, compared to $6.4 billion in 1983.

Based on the experience accumulated, attempts at creating "a system of efficient utilization of foreign capital" have been made in the PRC since late 1985. In the process, an important role is assigned to streamlining the centralized management of the utilization of foreign investments, which is reflected in both the measures of an organizational nature, and in the content of new executive acts regulating foreign entrepreneurship. In this regard, the creation in 1986 of a management group for foreign investments at the State Council of the PRC should be noted in particular. The responsibilities of the group embrace developing the state policy for attracting foreign capital, and control and macroeconomic adjustment of the operations in the field, and that of ministries in this area.

Measures are being taken in order to set up a system of selective incentives and restrictions on foreign investment. Within the framework of this policy, only the highest-priority types of facilities are given special incentives, including technology-intensive and export-oriented enterprises, which thus far account for less than 15 percent of the total number of companies with the participation of foreign capital.

A "system of technology transfer in stages" is being gradually set up with a view to regulating the regional breakdown of foreign investment. According to it, coastal regions should retain the priority status in attracting foreign investment. However, in the process they should not be separated from the inland regions of the country, developing horizontal technical and economic contacts with them. This is to be promoted both by special organizational efforts of the authorities of several coastal provinces, and the further development of multilevel investment regulations for the joint enterprises created in various regions of the PRC.

The initial reaction of foreign investors to the activization of state regulation of foreign investment is quite characteristic. As the Washington bulletin CHINA BUSINESS AND TRADE, representing the interests of leading American investors, states, the situation emerging in China calls for profound changes in the direction of expanding the "freedoms" of foreign entrepreneurs. Otherwise, cautions CHINA BUSINESS AND TRADE, the Chinese side will face the prospect of an inevitable increase in the difficulty of attracting new investment from abroad, and possibly that of a direct outflow of foreign capital.

Compared to 1985, the average annual total of investment contracts signed by China in 1986 and 1987 dropped by a factor of almost 1.5. The implementation of investments by virtue of previously signed agreements has slowed down as well. In the process, however, the Chinese side has managed to ensure a certain improvement in the quality of resources coming in from abroad: in 1986, the share of industrial facilities came to 76 percent, and in 1988—as much as 85 percent of the total number of investment contracts signed, compared to 45 percent previously. Thus, the experience of foreign entrepreneurship in the PRC provides a graphic confirmation of the fact that cooperation with foreign capital calls not only for partnership, but for struggle in the defense of strategic interests of the socialist states.

Several nodes of contradictions between the PRC and foreign investors have now taken shape. They reflect both the wide gap in the levels of economic development of the parties to cooperation, and the initial orientation of partners toward differing results of joint operations. The foreign investors are primarily attracted by increasing profits due to using the cheap labor of Chinese workers and "developing" the domestic market of China, whereas the objective of Beijing is to accelerate modernization. It is justly noted in the People's Republic of China that the wide opening of the domestic market to joint enterprises, in which the Western business circles are interested, may end up leading to the depletion of the currency reserves of the country, with its foreign debt growing accordingly.

The issue of the general degree of preferences in the investment regimen is no less significant. On the one hand, the scale of the influx of foreign investment has to be adequately large in order for it to actually stimulate the development of the Chinese economy. This is an argument in favor of the feasibility of providing the so-called favorable investment climate. On the other hand, the need to protect the national priorities in development predetermines the currently quite high degree of state control over the operation of foreign investors in the PRC, as well as restricts the obligations of the state to them. The need for a practical resolution of these contradictions determines at present the main avenues for the Chinese policy of attracting foreign capital. In the PRC, they strive to associate solving the problems which arise with the further development of foreign economic operations on the basis of a continuous search for more efficient forms and methods of international cooperation, rather than with restricting such operations.

Northeast Asia

Soviet General Views Far East Troop Reduction

OW1905051689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 16 May 89

[Interview with Major General Batenin, CPSU Central Committee military expert, by Moscow Radio reporter Valeriy Platonov; date, place of interview not given—recorded; one unidentified announcer asks Platonov's questions, another unidentified announcer gives Batenin's replies; first and third answers preceded by brief recording in Russian; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Listeners, General Secretary Gorbachev, Soviet head of state, began his visit to China on 15 May. It is hoped that the forthcoming Soviet-Chinese summit will have a strong impact on the process of normalization of relations between the two countries. After confrontation for more than 30 years, remarkable changes for the better have appeared in their bilateral relations in recent years. Trade has increased, economic cooperation has expanded, and state and cultural relations have strengthened. In this connection, we now bring you an interview with Major General Batenin, military expert of the CPSU Central Committee, conducted by Moscow Radio reporter Valeriy Platonov:

[Question] The Soviet Union has declared a unilateral reduction of 500,000 troops. Of this number, 200,000 troops will be cut back from the Soviet eastern region. Has the Soviet troop reduction in the eastern region actually begun? What is the situation for carrying out this plan?

[Answer] The reduction in force of Soviet troops in the Far Eastern region began much earlier than the announcement on reducing 500,000 troops made by General Secretary Gorbachev in his 7 December UN speech. It has been going on since 1985. From that time to the present, 50,000 troops have already been reduced in the Far Eastern region. In other words, one division and some units have been withdrawn from Mongolia, and the number of air-launched or ground-deployed nuclear arms has not increased either. Of the 200,000 troops to be reduced in the Soviet Asian region, 120,000 will be reduced directly in the Far Eastern region. This is a sizable force equivalent to approximately 15 divisions.

[Question] It was also announced that a reduction of 75 percent of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia would begin on 15 May. When will this be completed?

[Answer] Under an agreement with the Mongolian side, three divisions, including a tank division, as well as aviation units and anti-air missile units of the Soviet forces, will be pulled out from May this year to 1990. More than 50,000 soldiers, 850 tanks, nearly 1,100 armored vehicles, more than 820 artillery guns, and more than 300 aircraft and helicopters will be removed, leaving no more than 1 division in Mongolia. The remaining division will also be pulled out in the future.

[Question] What will happen to the forces after they are withdrawn from Mongolia?

[Answer] All the units withdrawn from Mongolia will not be deactivated. However, similar to other units in the eastern region, they will be reorganized, and the number of troops will be cut back.

[Question] How will the Soviet military doctrine of reasonable sufficiency—namely, the principle of maintaining forces strictly for defensive purposes—affect nuclear arms in the eastern region of the country, above all, the quantity and deployment of tactical nuclear arms?

[Answer] Under an agreement reached between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Soviet Union will abolish a large quantity of intermediate-range missiles, 436, in the eastern region. The tactical nuclear arms issue is a most complicated question. To be sure, 15 divisions will be reduced in the eastern region and, of course, nuclear arms delivery vehicles of the divisions to be cut back will also be abolished, and nuclear warheads will be returned to their arsenals. Therefore, the number of tactical nuclear arms will be virtually reduced. A more drastic decision is one on the abolition of tactical nuclear arms in the eastern region, which is referred to as the third zero. I believe this should be achieved through an agreement among nations possessing tactical nuclear arms, above all, between the Soviet Union and the United States.

[Question] Is it safe to assume that future demilitarization will be carried out along the border with China, where troops are most concentrated, rather than in other areas of the Soviet eastern region?

[Answer] You must take into consideration the strategic factors that already exist. The Soviet Union has in the Far Eastern region forces needed to maintain national security in proportion to the level of foreign military strength in the region—for example, U.S. forces in Japan and South Korea, the Japanese Self-Defense Forces, and the armed forces of other countries. Therefore, the Soviet Union finds it necessary to maintain its armed strength at a certain level sufficient for its national defense. On arms and troops in areas along and around the Soviet-Chinese border, the two countries expect a partial demilitarization in those areas, but eventually I believe there will be complete demilitarization.

Japanese Reaction to Gorbachev Beijing Speech

Press Hails Asian Peace Proposal

OW2405023689 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 18 May 89

[Potapov report]

[Text] General Secretary Gorbachev addressed a meeting with the leaders of various circles in Beijing. The general secretary's speech attracted great interest in Japan as well. In this connection, Moscow Radio correspondent Potapov filed the following report:

It is no exaggeration to say that hot news items have been arriving from China one after another in the past few days. The newspapers in Tokyo carried the details of General Secretary Gorbachev's speech at the meeting with the Chinese leaders of various circles. A part of the speech has been broadcast by major Japanese television programs. Notably, a new Soviet proposal to further solidify peace in the entire Far East and the Asia-Pacific region attracted particular interest. Japanese newspapers cite General Secretary Gorbachev's speech and comment that it reflects concrete features of Soviet policies that will be of great importance to the Asia-Pacific region. Pointing out the significance of the complete normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, the newspapers also state views that the Soviet Union and China will make frequent contact in the future. The Soviet proposal to reduce their military force in the Far East to 120,000 troops by 1991 became the focus of attention. The newspapers played up the speech in regard to Soviet-Japanese relations, especially General Secretary Gorbachev's announcement, in the hopes that the Soviet Union will establish healthy relations with Japan.

The general appraisals of Japanese newspapers in this regard are as follows: The Soviet Union is increasingly and actively promoting its peace policy in Asia and taking concrete and thorough measures for disarmament and relaxation of tension in Asian region. The Soviet Union considers Soviet-Japanese relations an important factor for peace and prosperity in Asia.

JSP, DSP Welcome Peace Proposal

OW2505032089 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] According to a TASS dispatch from Tokyo, the Japan Socialist Party [JSP] has issued the following statement: General Secretary Gorbachev, at a meeting in Beijing, made a proposal aimed at releasing military tension in Asia. This proposal is a very constructive plan, and realization of the proposal will promote order and strengthen peace in the Asia-Pacific region. The JSP welcomes the new Soviet initiative. The JSP also supports the idea of starting an all-Asia process. The realization of this idea will be of great significance in strengthening fiduciary relations and developing a peacetime economy in the Asia-Pacific region. After making this announcement, the JSP appealed to the Japanese Government to respond to the Soviet proposal.

Moreover, the Japan Democratic Socialist Party [DSP] issued the following statememt: The DSP sincerely welcomes the new and concrete measures by the Soviet Union to release military tension in Asia and, at the same time, believes these proposals will make a great contribution to global peace and stability.

Japanese Businessmen Depart for Sakhalin 22 May

LD2205224489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1706 GMT 22 May 89

[TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin report]

[Text] Tokyo, 22 May (TASS)—The "Sakhalin-9" sea ferry left the port of Kanai on the northern Japanese island of Hokkaido for its maiden voyage today. A group

of 77 Hokkaido businessmen is aboard the Soviet vessel, which is heading for Sakhalin. This trip has started the establishment of a permanent crossing between the two islands of the neighboring countries.

"We regard the establishment of the crossing as an important step toward the development of links between Sakhalin and Hokkaido. It will promote the improvement of mutual understanding and the widening of contacts between the peoples of our two countries in general," Tatsuo Hamamori, mayor of the town of Wakanai, said. He is the head of the Japanese delegation.

The delegation of Hokkaido businessmen will meet representatives of the local authorities on Sakhalin. Discussion of a broad range of issues related to bilateral economic links, including the organization of joint ventures, will be on the agenda. The delegation's stay on the Soviet island will be covered by a group of Japanese newspaper, television, and radio representatives, who are also onboard the "Sakhalin-9" sea ferry. The vessel will arrive at Kholmsk, its port destination, today.

USSR-Japan Contract To Exchange TV Programs

LD2205222889 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—The Soviet Gosteleradio TV and Radio Committee and the Japanese Nishi-Nihon TV company signed a contract on Monday to exchange TV programmes and other materials about major events in the Soviet Union and Japan, and assist TV journalists in covering life in the two countries.

Japanese Ambassador Comments on Restructuring

OW2305052189 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Last week the Soviet newspaper PRAVDA carried reports of interviews with Hungary, India, the United States, and Japan's ambassadors to the Soviet Union on the status and meaning of restructuring now being carried out in the Soviet Union. Today we introduce the interview with Japanese Ambassador to the Soviet Union Toshiaki Muto. Ambassador Muto spoke as follows:

I think restructuring is a great and daring project. It is being carried out with the aim of bringing about reforms in all fields, including the political, economic, social, moral, and ideological areas. It can be said that the future of the Soviet Union in many ways depends on whether restructuring succeeds.

As General Secretary Gorbachev points out, close relations between domestic politics and foreign policies are being taken into account in the restructuring being carried out throughout the Soviet Union. As such, restructuring has a direct bearing on diplomacy. Restructuring is having great impact, not only on Soviet society but also on international society.

In the 18 months since I came to my present post, the achievements in Soviet political reforms have been remarkable. They include the decisions made at the CPSU's 19th National Consultative Conference, the subsequent reform in the relationship between the party and the Soviets, based on the decisions, the conduct of the elections for people's deputies and the review of history.

General Secretary Gorbachev noted that restructuring without democratization and glasnost—openness—cannot but be doomed to destruction. Big changes in intellectual activities are witnessed in publications and television and radio programs. I am watching, with great interest, whether there are any restrictions to enforcement of democratization and glasnost—openness.

Reform of the economic system is being carried out in a consistent manner. In this aspect I am watching how the reform appears as real economic accomplishments. In speaking about the international aspect of restructuring, my concern is in the following:

What effect will the diplomacy of the new system bring on the overall world situation? What effect will it bring on relations in the Asia-Pacific region and on Japanese-Soviet relations? In particular, what effect will it have on the solution of the territorial question and the pending matter of concluding a peace treaty between these two nations?

Our bilateral relations offer various possibilities of cooperation—in such fields as trade and the economy, or science and technology. If we take into account the positions currently held by both countries in the international arena, it can be said that the improvement in our bilateral relations is essential to the true stability of East-West relations. Neither country is content with the present status of relations, and both share the expectations for overcoming the present situation. Restructuring is needed in Japanese-Soviet relations. Both political and economic reform—just as is done in the Soviet Union—is desirable in bilateral relations. I would like to emphasize that Japan is willing to participate actively in joint efforts for restructuring in this respect.

Reaction to U.S. Loss of H-Bomb Near Okinawa

'Danger' in Living by U.S. Bases

OW2405040289 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Twenty-four years ago an incident in which a hydrogen bomb fell into the sea from the U.S. aircraft carrier Ticonderoga occurred near Okinawa. Soviet newspapers have reported and commented on the facts subsequently revealed about this incident.

IZVESTIYA's Tokyo correspondent filed the following report: The United States has informed Japan that, considering the location of the nuclear warhead, in the

intervening 24 years the warhead would have disintegrated and leakage of radioactive substance into the water would have started. This information was given at a time Okinawa was marking the 17th anniversary of the end of U.S. occupation. This incident reminds us once again of the danger of living near U.S. military facilities.

IZVESTIYA's Tokyo correspondent pointed out that today U.S. bases in Okinawa occupy a key position among those on Japanese territory. The news that pollution of the ocean near Japan by radioactivity has already begun, once more, attaches urgency to implementation of the three nonnuclear principles.

The newspaper SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA cited the remarks of William Arkin, an expert at the U.S. Political Studies Institute. Arkin expressed no doubt that U.S. warships, carrying nuclear devices, call at Japanese ports. SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA stressed that well-known U.S. experts completely agree with Arkin in his view.

On the other hand, Nagasaki City Mayor Motoshima has suggested that nuclear-capable U.S. surface vessels and submarines calling at Japanese ports should be inspected. This suggestion has received support from Japanese Diet members. Hiroshima City Mayor Araki has also demanded the Japanese Government's unconditional implementation of the three nonnuclear principles.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA pointed out that the U.S. 7th Fleet's aircraft carrier Midway and other missile-carrying vessels are based at Japanese ports. Furthermore, latest model nuclear-powered submarines, carrying Tomahawk cruise missiles, have chosen the sea near the Japanese islands as their cruising ground. The Misawa Base is located in the northern part of Honshu. There are 50 F-16 fighter bombers capable of carrying nuclear weapons deployed at the base.

Okinawa Governor Demands Inquiry

OW2305023289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1020 GMT 18 May 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Vitaliy Ilyashenko]

[Text] The Governor of Okinawa Prefecture demanded a thorough investigation of the accident involving a U.S. plane carrying a 1-megaton hydrogen bomb. I must remind you that in 1965 a U.S. strike aircraft fell from an aircraft-carrier and sank close to one of the prefecture's islands.

The government should undertake urgent measures to find out all the particulars of this incident, including investigation of radioactive leakage from the bomb into the ocean, the governor said at his meeting with Uno, Japanese foreign minister.

Discontent over actions of the central government is growing among Okinawans. Residents of the island, where three-quarters of the Pentagon bases and other installations are located, demand that the Tokyo authorities strictly adhere to the three nonnuclear principles: not to import, not to have, and not to manufacture nuclear arms.

Murakhovskiy Meets DPRK Economic Official

LD1905200789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Today Comrade Murakhovskiy received (Kim Tong-u), deputy chairman of the Korean side of the intergovernmental Soviet-Korean Consultative Commission for Economics and Science and Techology. Some questions of bilateral cooperation were discussed in the course of a friendly conversation.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Prospects for Cambodia Settlement Viewed

BK2305085289 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1100 GMT 22 May 89

[Station observer Boris Durov commentary]

[Text] The conflict in Cambodia, which has dragged on for more than 10 years, seems to be entering its concluding stage. Is there any solution? People are very interested in this question. Comrade Boris Durov, our observer, writes:

A new situation prevails in Cambodia and around this country. This situation stems primarily from Vietnam's decision to withdraw all its troops from Cambodia before 30 September. The new situation says that following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal, the opposing Cambodian groups will no longer have a stone to throw at any one. For several years they have kept demanding that Vietnam withdraw its troops from Cambodia, claiming that otherwise the war will continue. But, after the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops, they will no longer have any pretext to make further demands. However, the opposing Cambodian groups still have not quickly moved toward Phnom Penh. This has led to a claim that the road to peace that is emanating from the conflict following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal is not necessary. This idea is confirmed through the fact that the opposing groups still do not want to abandon foreign military aid, although the abandonment may serve as proof of their desire to settle the conflict.

The recent Soviet-Chinese summit meeting was marked by concern about the fate of the Cambodian people. Moscow and Beijing shared this concern. The Soviet-Chinese joint communique stated that the Soviet Union and China see the need to prevent a civil war from taking place in Cambodia following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal.

Thus there are solutions. The first solution is through peaceful means based on the national reconciliation proposed by the Cambodian Government. Another solution is the flames of a civil war if the opposing groups, particularly the Pol Pot clique, reject reconciliation with the Phnom Penh government.

I do not, in the least, think that the leaders of the opposing groups would like to wage a civil war. But please do not forget that many forces are still continuing their activities around Cambodia. For example, why has the United States intensified aid to the opposing groups following the successful meeting in Jakarta between Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk? Why has France, which used to welcome and respect the traditions in Indochina, secretly provided arms to the opposing Cambodian groups? After this had been revealed to the public, Paris stopped doing so. However, arms have already reached the recipients.

Why has General Sunthon Kongsomphong, chief of staff of the Thai Armed Forces, predicted civil war in Cambodia following the withdrawal of the Vietnamese troops? One should be on the alert particularly with regard to the Thai authorities, especially the military circles, who seem to be ready to recognize the opposing Cambodian groups' plan.

As for me, I think justice will win and the warring Cambodian groups will be able to settle their problem through compromise. Samdech Norodom Sihanouk seems to be in agreement with Khieu Samphan, leader of the Khmer Rouge. In the Samdech's own words, lately Khieu Samphan has spoken in support of an agreement on the Cambodian question to be reached at the meeting to be held in Paris this July by the four Cambodian parties.

The Samdech noted that both Khieu Samphan and he oppose any effort to continue the war, which will kill only their fellow countrymen following the Vietnamese troop withdrawal.

Such a statement is quite reliable. But this is not enough. There should be concrete deeds, particularly from the opposing groups.

'Positive Trend' Noted in Cambodia Situation

BK2405090089 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1230 GMT 23 May 89

[Commentary by station observer (Igor Osotov)]

[Text] Only recently most observers were careful in their assessments of the situation in and around Cambodia. Noting the positive trend in the development of this situation, they pointed out great obstacles on the path to solving the Cambodian problem. Among these obstacles are the differing views between Phnom Penh and the opposing Cambodian sides. Even external conditions for solving this issue did not exist. Now the situation has changed. Here is our observer (Igor Osotov's) comments.

At the source of this is the change in relations between Phnom Penh and leader of the opposing Cambodian side Samdech Sihanouk. The meeting held on 2 May—the fourth between Comrade Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the State of Cambodia, and Samdech Sihanouk—really surprised people. It is enough to say that at this meeting Samdech Sihanouk talked about the possibility of accepting Comrade Hun Sen's proposal asking the Samdech to return to Cambodia to assume the role of head of state. When Samdech Sihanouk talked about this at a press conference held after the meeting, those taking part in the news conference, according to the TIME magazine correspondent, could not believe that they had really heard this news. On the pages of TIME magazine, the U.S. reporter says:

We remember that Sihanouk has for a long time considered the Phnom Penh Government illegal. About returning to Cambodia, that was only rumored; and he did not even want to hear it as long as this government remained. However, now Sihanouk openly talks about the possibility of becoming head of state within the framework of the political structure currently in existence in Cambodia.

TIME magazine says the latest round of talks in Jakarta also brought more unexpected news. Comrade Hun Sen and Samdech Sihanouk fully agreed on the need to end military assistance to all conflicting parties. Is it necessary to say that this meeting is very important? It is aimed at depriving the Pol Pot group—also known as the Khmer Rouge—the material basis to restore the genocidal regime in Cambodia. What are the factors that contributed to the positive results of the Jakarta meeting in early May?

First of all, it was certainly the recent decision by Phnom Penh and Hanoi to complete the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia by the end of September this year. Also playing an important role were the circumstances prior to the time of the Jakarta meeting in which there was reasonable rapprochement of the Soviet and Chinese stands on the Cambodian issue. In our view, this has special significance.

The recently ended summit clearly showed that there was clear agreement between Moscow and Beijing around the most important aspects of the solution to the Cambodian problem, as well as on the issue of ending military assistance to involved Cambodian parties. As pointed out in the joint Sino-Soviet communique, in the opinion of the two sides, hand-in-hand with the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, involved states should gradually reduce this kind of assistance and eventually stop it.

Refugee Mistreatment Raises Doubts on Khmer Rouge
18070279 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
15 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Bangkok dispatch by V. Skvortsov: "Border Zone Incident"]

[Text] Southeast Asian public opinion has paid close attention to the information received last week from the Bangkok representative of the International Red Cross. The information in question concerns the situation of refugees in camps under the control of Pol Pot forces, or, as they are more frequently called here, the "Khmer Rouge."

The story began when a group of Red Cross workers and Thai administration representatives set out to transfer "camp inmates" from the border zone to new, safer places. In particular, there were plans to resettle approximately 15,000 Cambodians from uncoordinated camps scattered throughout the jungle along Thailand's southeast border into one common camp with an organized existence and efficient registration. This system was planned with the underground settlements ruled by Pol Pot in mind.

Having arrived at one such camp, Tha Luan, the Red Cross workers and the Thais became witnesses to the forced sendoff in an unknown direction of some 4,000 people by the Pol Pot forces.

The prospect of regulating the Cambodian problem has engendered real hope among the Khmer refugees of returning home. But these hopes are negated by the squads of diehard Pol Pot forces, about whom it is said that for the time being they do not see any future for Cambodia other than their own "complete victory."

The despair, hopelessness, endlessness, and psychological wretchedness that reign in the camps are their allies in the recruitment if not of soldiers, then of a labor force. The end is now coming to the previous order: the prospect of a peaceful, dignified life is being opened for the refugees.

The planned transfer of Cambodian "camp inmates" from Tha Luan and similar places to a common settlement with completely different labor and living conditions could completely eliminate their use as "cannon fodder" for the military, repressive structures to which the Pol Pot forces cling. Hence, the desperate attempt of the "Khmer Rouge" to preserve these structures even in the current situation that is so complicated for them.

According to the data of Khachatphai Burusapat, chairman of the National Security Council of Thailand, approximately 1 million refugees and displaced persons from the countries of Indochina have passed through the country in the last decade. Some 400,00 refugees remain. Of these, 55,000 are under the control of the Pol Pot forces in individual camps.

It is clear that in Thailand and the other countries of the region the fate of the Cambodian refugees, who at various times and for various reasons have been put in the position of being emigrants or displaced persons, will depend entirely upon how the fate of their homeland is decided. Hopes for a better future were raised anew by the recent meeting in Jakarta between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Cambodia, and Prince Sihanouk.

For Thailand's part, hope is also invested in a just, humane resolution of the issue. After all, despite the well-known international assistance, the country must bear a great burden of concerns and expenses for the maintenance on its territory of such a quantity of displaced persons. The undesirable preservation of tension on the border, the involvement, intentional or involuntary, of civilian refugees in the actions of the Pol Pot "opposition," cannot but have their effect on the security of the Thai peasants. Incidentally, it is they who were forced to crowd together for the public amenities of these uninvited guests, and they are now frequently becoming the victims of military actions.

Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan has announced that he is for an early agreement among all concerned Cambodian parties for a cease-fire, before the withdrawal from Cambodia of Vietnamese troops at the end of September. This initiative is supported by Phnom Penh, as well as by the opposition forces, with the exception of those selfsame "Khmer Rouge." Is the reason for this new "cattle drive" of civilian refugees under their control to other places lost in the dense jungle not hidden here?

Hun Sen, the Cambodian prime minister who was recently in Bangkok, while informing Chatchai Chunhawan of his meeting with Prince Sihanouk, noted that Phnom Penh does not completely exclude the participation of the "Khmer Rouge" in the planning of the future outline of the Republic's development in the transition period. The existence of goodwill in this area was demonstrated more than once both at the informal meetings in Jakarta and in the course of negotiations and consultations in Bangkok. There is only one issue: Can anyone from the "Khmer Rouge" be completely trusted? The incident where Pol Pot forces drove several thousand refugees away from the Tha Luan camp in sight of eyewitnesses has aroused legitimate doubts on this score. No wonder that, on receiving the report on what had happened, the special assistant to the Thai prime minister for political issues assessed the information as evidence of the situation's exacerbation.

Thai General's Remark on Soviet Threat Decried
BK2305091689 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia
1230 GMT 22 May 89

[Vasiliy Shchedrov's critique: "Contrary to Realities"]

[Text] Recently Thai General Sunthon Kongsomphong made an alarming remark. According to his assertion, the Soviet Union is incessantly building up its Armed

Forces in the Far East, and that consequently Thailand must cooperate even more closely with the United States militarily and must entirely rely on the United States concerning security.

Such a statement is ridiculous. But I do not want to laugh. Why? Because this statement was not made by a journalist wanting to gain profit from this story, but by a high-ranking military man. General Sunthon Kongsomphong, who is the chief of staff of the Thai Armed Forces, made this statement not at a low-level press conference, but at a meeting in Phatthaya that was attended by 500 people representing the commander in chief and national security experts.

At first I thought General Sunthon had not read the newspapers. This is because had he read the newspapers, he would have seen excerpts of the speech made by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Beijing at a get-together with the Chinese people. General Sunthon made this statement two days later—that is, on 19 May. Therefore, he had had sufficient time to learn about Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's speech.

I would like to recall this. In Beijing the Soviet leader described the reduction of the Soviet Armed Forces in the Far East. For example, Comrade Gorbachev revealed that between 1989 and 1990 the number of the Soviet troops in the eastern part of the country will be reduced by 200,000 men, of which 120,000 are from the Far Eastern region. The Army will be reduced by 12 divisions, 11 regiments of the Air Force will be dismantled, and 16 warships of the Pacific naval fleet will be dismantled.

It is regrettable that General Sunthon did not consider all this information before making his statement, which was meant to alarm low-ranking military officers about the so-called Soviet threat.

Obviously, this is a distortion of the facts. Otherwise, why must he create this matter? Maybe this Thai general wanted to obstruct Thai Prime Minister Chatchai Chunhawan, the prime minister who has pursued a policy to reduce regional tension and forge cooperation with the neighboring countries. Or maybe the general wanted to justify the "Cobra Gold 89" joint military exercise with the United States, which is now an obsolete plank in the current Thai political platform.

Time will tell which is General Sunthon's real goal. However, it can be said even now that this must be an inappropriate goal because one should not try to realize the noble goal through the use of lies and the distortion of facts.

'Positive Changes' Seen in USSR-Indonesia Ties

PM2405134589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Credentials Presented"]

[Text] Yanvar Marah Jani, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Indonesia, presented his credentials to A.I. Lukyanov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, in the Kremlin 19 May.

The ambassador rated highly the Soviet Union's peace-loving course and pointed to the fruitful influence the new political thinking is having on the situation in the world. He emphasized the desire of his country's government to raise the level of cooperation with the Soviet Union and advocated making fuller use of the opportunities for expanding mutually advantageous trade and economic ties being opened up as a result of the restructuring under way in the USSR and the national building being carried out in Indonesia.

Accepting the credentials on behalf of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov briefed the ambassador on the present stage of restructuring and on the Soviet Union's policy in the international arena of struggle for a nuclear-free, nonviolent world based on the primacy of values common to all mankind. Our integral concept in this regard was set forth in M.S. Gorbachev's well-known UN speech and most convincingly reaffirmed during his visit to the PRC.

The positive changes occurring in Soviet-Indonesian relations were noted, and the conviction was expressed that their further development will promote the strengthening of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region and the organization of mutually advantageous and equitable cooperation.

After the presentation of the credentials and an exchange of speeches, friendly talks took place between A.I. Lukyanov and Y.M. Jani.

U.S. Sailors 'Patron' of Subic Child Prostitutes

HK2505032789 Moscow in Tagalog to the Philippines 1300 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Philippine Government investigators have charged several members of a criminal syndicate who have been supplying child prostitutes to American sailors connected with the U.S. 7th Fleet stationed at Subic Bay. The child prostitutes' ages range from 4 to 13 years. Two of the suspects in the syndicate were arrested in March this year after an anti-prostitution drive was launched by local police and personnel of the military police at the American naval base. Reports in the Manila newspapers say the U.S. military base at Subic Bay, in which over 70,000 personnel are stationed, is the main patron of the child prostitutes. These prostitutes, who are fielded by the criminal syndicates, come from destitute Filipino families.

Burma Government-Rebel Peace Talks Urged

BK2405115389 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1030 GMT 24 May 89

[Station observer commentary]

[Text] According to news agency reports, intense military offensives are being launched in areas along Burma's border with Thailand. From statements by the

Rangoon Government, we understand their troops have overrun about half the bases of the KNU [Karen National Union] in the past 6 months. Official spokesmen for the military government say the insurgents are about to face total elimination. In addition to the KNU, many other separatist movements have existed in Burma for many years.

Immediately following independence, a war was waged between the insurgents and the Burmese Defense Services. There have been quite a number of changes in the insurgent separatist movements over the years, with some even becoming smuggling and terrorist gangs. Their disruptive activities have caused greater instability in the country, and the economic and other problems that Burma faces are being aggravated by the destructive activities of insurgents. The consequence of their destructive activities became even more evident in the aftermath of last year's September crisis.

Given this situation, there have been attempts to break the unity of the patriotic forces, aggravate economic problems in the country, and weaken the country internationally. In recent days the Burmese press has been saying that those forces that bear a grudge against Burma are supporting the rebels while trying to weaken the country's foreign policy, which is based on the principles of neutrality and peaceful coexistence. This, perhaps, is why Western broadcasting stations have recently been wrongly reporting the crux of the insurgency problem and slandering the actions being taken by the Burmese government troops against the KNU insurgency. I refer to a VOA broadcast on 19 May in particular. In connection with this broadcast, the Rangoon government had to announce that it was only engaged in a campaign against rebels bent on dividing the country.

The insurgency problem is causing instability not only in Burma, but also in the Thai border areas where many Thai people are suffering. It is therefore necessary to welcome all efforts that could bring about a peaceful situation. There have been many proposals and suggestions toward this end in recent times, and former Prime Minister U Nu has also requested the holding of talks between the government and the rebels. He even said he was prepared to mediate in these talks. This, of course, is a matter that concerns the Burmese people alone, and it is they who should make the decision. But as things stand today, if both sides are willing to show goodwill such a move could stop the bloodshed that has been going on for many years.

Near East & South Asia

Gandhi, Rogachev Holds Talks in Delhi 24 May

LD2405205789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1617 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Delhi, 24 May (TASS)—On 24 May Indian Prime Minister R. Gandhi received I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is in Delhi on a working visit.

In the course of the conversation, which took place in a friendly and relaxed atmosphere, several pressing international problems and questions of Soviet-Indian cooperation were discussed.

The head of the Indian Government welcomed the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the PRC and stated that the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is making a substantial contribution to improving the international situation, especially on the Asian Continent.

Great attention was paid to regional subjects. The need was stressed to resolve the Afghan question on the basis of strict observance of the Geneva agreements, by peaceful political means, respecting the right of the Afghan people themselves to determine their own fate for the purpose of ensuring the independent, nonaligned, and neutral status of Afghanistan. Satisfaction was expressed with the progress made regarding a Cambodian settlement.

The high level of Soviet-Indian cooperation in the international arena was noted by both sides and the striving to further develop this cooperation was confirmed.

Taking part in the conversation was V.F. Isakov, USSR ambassador to India.

Afghan Tank Unit Returns From Training in USSR

LD2405162889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 24 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Kabul is strengthening its defense capability. Here is a report from our correspondent.

[Correspondent A. Shkirando, identified by screen caption] Watching this convey, I recall the events of over 3 months ago when, during the completion of the withdrawal of our troops, rumors were spreading quickly about the immediate fall of the present Afghan Government and about the incapability of the Afghan Army to withstand the detachments of the irreconcilable opposition. To be frank, during those days, apart from rumors, there was also panic among the Kabul residents. Many of them left the city in fear of the future. But the rumors and predictions about the inevitable fall of Kabul and the Afghan Government were unfounded, and this was chiefly due to the actions of the Afghan army. A new combat unit—a tank brigade that has just arrived from the Soviet Union—joined its ranks today. No, I did not make a mistake when I said it came from the Soviet Union. All its personnel have passed a training course in one of our country's training centers.

The jouney from Hayratan to Kabul was not an easy one for many Afghan tank troops. But now, during a festive meeting in the outskirts of the capital, there is no

particular sign of fatigue on their faces. Today is a holiday for them—a meeting with Kabul, the presentation of ordinary and extraordinary titles, and the awarding of orders and medals.

[Begin recording of Afghan Defense Minister Shahnawaz Tanai in vernacular, fading into Russian translation] The arrival of this column is testimony to the fact that our Armed Forces are constantly being strengthened. On the territory of Afghanistan, military units and subunits fulfill merely a defensive function. However, the events in the regions bordering Pakistan convince one of the fact that we must always be ready to repulse any intrigues by a foreign aggressor. Recently near Jalalabad, Khowst, and Qandahar we have been repelling not just attacks from the irreconcilable opposition, but also militarily well-planned operations in which Pakistani militiamen and Saudi mercenaries are taking part, supported by Pakistani tanks and helicopters. This brigade is destined for the defense of Kabul. I would like to take this opportunity to express sincere gratitude to the Soviet leadership for their fraternal support, which is helping us defend the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country.

Straight from the meeting, the tank brigade set off to its own positions. It was quite recently that we were watching these "live corridors" during the time the Soviet internationalist troops were being seen off to their homeland.

Today the Afghan people are welcoming their own troops, who can and must ensure their peaceful life. [end recording]

[video shows tank column moving along streets lined with people and receiving bouquets and garlands, troops lined up on parade, awards presentation ceremony, interview with defense minister, tanks moving off in the distance and being applauded along the highway]

Afghanistan Denies Soviet Military Presence
PM2505092589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent A. Ivanko: "Afghan Foreign Ministry Exposes"]

[Text] Kabul—At a routine briefing for foreign journalists in Kabul, N. Amani, chief of the Afghan Foreign Ministry Press Center, citing an AFP report from Peshawar, announced that the transitional government of the "Alliance of Seven" is spreading stories about the participation of Soviet airmen in the bombing and strafing strikes against rebel positions in the region of Jalalabad, and about the presence of Tajik- and Uzbek-speaking Soviet soldiers in the country's northern provinces. "I am empowered to state that there is not a single Soviet serviceman on Afghan territory, still less any taking part in the fighting near Jalalabad," N. Amani said.

The situation in recent days has remained complex in the regions of Jalalabad and Khowst. Afghan aircraft have carried out several bombing and strafing strikes against the intransigents' positions to the north and east of Jalalabad. Enemy losses are not being reported.

Rockets are being fired on Khowst and there are casualties among the civilian population. Qandahar is also continuing to be bombarded. According to the information of the Afghan Foreign Ministry, no activation of the rebels has been noted in Kabul and its environs, but in some other provinces in the country clashes have taken place between different antigovernment groupings resulting in casualties.

Moscow Congress Held on Soviet Afghan POW's
LD2305190389 Moscow TASS in English 1843 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—A congress of the people's committees for the rescue of Soviet prisoners-of-war in Afghanistan was held in Moscow on Tuesday. Taking part in the Congress were representatives of these public organisations from various Soviet cities, relatives of prisoners-of-war and missing soldiers, soldiers-internationalists.

Those present adopted an appeal to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies for undelayed assistance to the struggle for the release of Soviet prisoners-of-war and sent an address to the United Nations Human Rights Committee.

National Day Greetings Exchanged With Iran
PM2205162589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Exchange of Telegrams"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers sent telegrams to Iranian President S.A. Khamene'i and Iranian Prime Minister M.H. Musavi to mark the Iranian national holiday—Revolution Day. These telegrams conveyed congratulations and best wishes to the people of Iran and also expressed the hope that good-neighborly relations and cooperation would further develop between the two countries.

In their reply President S.A. Khamene'i and Prime Minister M.H. Musavi expressed gratitude for the congratulations and conveyed wishes for prosperity and happiness to the Soviet people.

Egypt's 'Abd al-Majid on Mideast Peace Prospects

PM1705133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid by correspondent D. Velikiy in Cairo: "Egypt—A New Role in the Arab World"; date of interview not given; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] Cairo—The "return of Egypt"; this phrase is often seen these days in press commentaries. What it means is that the country is recovering its traditional, very significant role in Near East and world affairs, a role it lost under Al-Sadat's presidency when the Arab states broke off relations with Cairo and its membership in the Arab League was "frozen" after the signing of the Camp David agreements. It is a characteristic fact that 17 Arab countries have re-established diplomatic links with Egypt in the past 2 years.

Has Egypt now recovered its former influence in the Arab world, and what is its new role in the region? Our Cairo correspondent put these questions to Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid.

['Abd al-Majid] Allow me first of all to say that when we talk about Egypt's role in the Near East, it is not a matter of "influence." Everyone has now had the opportunity to see for himself the sincerity and farsightedness of Egyptian policy. This is evidenced by intensive contacts, including summit contacts, between Egypt and other Arab countries with the aim of coordinating common action.

[Velikiy] Mr Minister, one of the obvious consequences of the resumption of contacts was the creation of the Arab Cooperation Union [ACU] (Egypt, North Yemen, Iraq, and Jordan) economic grouping. Together with the Arab Maghreb Union [UMA], which appeared almost simultaneously with the ACU, and the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], which was formed earlier, three groupings have been set up in the region. In this connection there have been noises about the possibility of forming an Arab "common market" on that basis. What can you say on this score?

['Abd al-Majid] As is known, the creation of economic groupings is nothing unusual. The European Economic Community was set up in Rome in the late fifties, and CEMA has been going now for 40 years. Bilateral, trilateral, and multilateral groupings have been set up in many regions and on many continents.

The three unions you mentioned—the ACU, UMA, and GCC—are regional associations that give one another mutual support. Obviously, they could form the basis of an Arab or Near East "common market." Incidentally, it should be said that the ACU members have said that any Arab country can join the council. And Egyptian President Husni Mubarak said the ACU is not a bloc directed against anyone. Egypt welcomes all forms of cooperation and coordination between the aforementioned groups and favors the creation of a "common market" in the region.

[Velikiy] Is the recent improvement in Soviet-Egyptian relations having any influence on the political situation in the Near East? In this connection how do you assess the results of E.A. Shevardnadze's recent tour of countries in the region, including Egypt?

['Abd al-Majid] Complete normalization of Egyptian-Soviet relations will unbdoubtedly have the most positive effect on the solution of Near East problems. It must be noted that the Soviet foreign minister's tour of countries in the region demonstrated the USSR's obvious interest in resolving Near East problems. During his visit E. Shevardnadze came up with a number of constructive ideas, and it is a pleasure for me to say that most of his proposals accord with Egypt's notions of a just, long-term settlement of the Palestinian issue. In this connection I want to note the high degree of political realism displayed by the PLO. The decisions of the Palestine National Council [PNC] and statements by PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat have unequivocally demonstrated the Palestinian people's sincere determination to resolve the Palestian issue in a just way. Unfortunately, this approach is rejected by some Israeli officials. At the same time, there is the reassuring fact that representatives of official Israeli circles and political parties are now increasingly voicing support for dialogue with the PLO.

[Velikiy] Mr Minister, now that the time is ripe for a constructive solution of the Palestinian question, several versions of a settlement are being proposed. For example, there is the version proposed by Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir, which entails, in particular, elections in the occupied territories...

['Abd al-Majid] Yes, Mr Shamir has put forward such a proposal. But let us take a look at what he is proposing. What kind of elections would they be? In what conditions? Obviously these questions need answering.

[Velikiy] Seemingly, they would be elections under the conditions of an occupation regime...

['Abd al-Majid] Precisely. The elections must be just, without coercion. There must be international monitoring of the elections. All these aspects require clear guarantees.

[Velikiy] Egyptian President H. Mubarak, Israeli Prime Minister Y. Shamir, and King Husayn of Jordan have been to the United States recently. In view of these visits do you see any constructive new elements in Washington's approaches to Near East problems?

['Abd al-Majid] The aforementioned visits to Washington have helped the new U.S. Administration to form its Near East policy. We are pleased to see the favorable development of bilateral dialogue between U.S. and PLO representatives. President George Bush has declared U.S. support for the idea of holding a "properly organized" international conference on the Near East. It seems to me that continuing dialogue between U.S. and PLO representatives will bear fruit in light of the constructive new elements in U.S. policy in the Near East.

[Velikiy] How would you describe the Egyptian approach to resolution of the Palestinian issue?

['Abd al-Majid] We are firmly convinced that an international conference on the Near East under UN auspices is the most appropriate way of discussing the Palestinian issue. The idea of an international conference has widespread world support, including support among permanent members of the Security Council. So, to use the political language that is current in UN circles, there is effectively "consensus minus one vote" in the international community on the question of holding such a conference.

USSR-Arab Trade Association Established

LD2305173589 Moscow TASS in English 1629 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—An association for foreign economic cooperation with Arab countries, as well as Iran and Turkey, was founded in Moscow today by more than 50 Soviet industrial, agricultural, scientific, commercial, medical and cooperative associations, enterprises and organisations.

The association [words indistinct] promote trade in untraditional commodities, set up joint ventures, expand co-production and specialization, make joint investments with Arab firms and organisations, as well as organise economic interaction on markets in third countries and engage in other effective forms of cooperation.

The association will help attract Arab credits for building plants manufacturing export items in the Soviet Union. These credits will later be cancelled by part of the production output.

The new organisation plans to hold joint symposiums, seminars and meetings of businessmen, as well as organise exhibitions and do promotional and publishing work, including the publication of an economic bulletin on prospects of the Soviet Union's trade and economic cooperation with Arab countries.

The association will have the right to make foreign trade, credit, and other deals with (?other) foreign organisations and firms at home and abroad, as well as open the Soviet Union's subsidiaries and offices abroad.

The association's constituent meeting elected a three-year monitoring council to exercise general guidance. Viktor Rudnev, director-general of the foreign economic association Soyuzchimexport, was elected the council's chairman. The monitoring council will approve a managerial board which will direct the association's current work.

Some Soviet enterprises are already discussing with Arab firms the possibility of setting up joint ventures to manufacture cosmetics, perfumery, furniture, reflection glass, galvanized water-supply pipes and other products.

The association also planned to build special facilities in Moscow to create comfortable conditions of life and recreation for representatives of Arab firms who wish to cooperate with Soviet enterprises and organizations.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Background of Failed Ethiopian Coup Considered

PM2405130789 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Article by Captain Second Class V. Kocherov under the rubric "Observer's Notes": "Coup Has Failed"]

[Text] Military rebellions do not arise suddenly. The tanks on the streets and the blood on the sidewalks always conceal calculations of a political nature sometimes made thousands of kilometers away from the sites of the main events. There is no doubt that in the very near future the world will learn in whose interests it was that a small group of Ethiopian generals embarked on the path of treason.

The People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is preparing for elections. On 28 May in accordance with the decision of the National Assembly (Shengo), parliamentary elections will be held in the country's 3 new autonomous provinces and 11 administrative provinces. The selection and nomination of candidates to the provinces' people's assemblies has already been completed. About 6,000 electoral wards have been formed in Ethiopia's 1,600 city and rural centers. Noting the importance of this event, the newspaper THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD particularly stressed in an article last week that internal and external enemies are making every effort to weaken the national economy and hold back the country's headway along the path of progress.

Indeed, the situation in Ethiopia on the eve of this important event is characterized by tension caused by the subversive actions which have been continuing unabated for a long time now by the separatist and terrorist groupings in the north of the country—in Tigre and Eritrea provinces. Acting in the spirit of the new political thinking, the government and the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] have recently begun increasingly frequently to allow the broad people's masses the opportunity to take part in the political settlement of the Eritrean

problem. For instance, a trip by representatives of the population of the plains of Eritrea Province to Egypt and Sudan ended in early May. They held extensive discussions on the situation in Northern Ethiopia and the Ethiopian Government's peace initiatives with official representatives, leaders of political parties, parliamentarians, and religious and public figures in the two countries and with the diplomatic corps of the Arab states. Egypt and Sudan believe that the question of Ethiopia's unity is not subject to discussion and they support the Ethiopian Government's efforts for the peaceful solution of the Eritrean problem, representatives of the population of the plains of the autonomous province said on their return to Addis Ababa.

On 15 May Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam met with representatives of the population of the mountainous part of Eritrea Province who stated that they approve the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia constitution and will give all their efforts to the cause of preserving the country's territorial integrity. The desire of the population of the mountainous part of Eritrea for peace and the ending of the war reflects the aspirations of the entire Ethiopian people, Mengistu Haile Mariam said. And that is indeed the case. The people have grown tired of war and constant hunger, tired of the grave economic position from which, as a result of the constant drought and the pernicious consequences of the Western countries' centuries-old colonialist policy, Ethiopia has been unable to emerge for many years. I think that hopes for a better future for their country will also unfailingly show themselves in the results of the 28 May parliamentary elections, preparation for which has suddenly been interrupted by the attempted military coup.

Actually, was it sudden? Was it not these hopes of stabilizing the situation in the country which themselves gave rise to anxiety among certain circles in the West who have long disliked the existing system in Ethiopia and the country's leadership? Without mentioning the political processes taking place in Ethiopia, some mass media nonetheless, on the eve of the attempted coup, began paying special "attention" to the Ethiopian president and to "recommendations" to the government regarding the leadership of the country.

Thus, REUTER recently suddenly made an attempt to recreate a political portrait of Mengistu Haile Mariam which assigned considerable space to various pieces of gossip and a chronicle of the attempts on the Ethiopian leader's life. In early May THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR published an article by E. Ueyn [name as published] who, citing an eminent but anonymous staffer in the U.S. Administration, quoted his statements to the effect that the Ethiopian Government should demonstrate the readiness to "end its expensive civil wars." "We assess without any optimism the chances of such changes as long as Mengistu Haile Mariam remains president of Ethiopia," he said. Some time later it was E. Ueyn again, and in THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR again, who expressed himself more precisely. First he noted that "Mengistu Haile Mariam's regime is experiencing an unprecedented crisis" and finally, citing someone called Dzhons [name as published] from the Heritage Foundation, he went so far as to say that "the United States' task should be to overthrow the present regime in Ethiopia." It is worth adding that this article appeared in the newspaper 15 May.

And, as is known, on 16 May, 4 hours after the Ethiopian president had left for an official visit to the GDR, an attempted military coup took place. An attempt which, as is also known, was unsuccessful, although REUTER even after the official report that the rebellion had been suppressed, continued to claim that clashes in Ethiopia were not abating between military subunits. It is true that the reports came from Washington, from where it is always easier to see what is being done in other countries.

Without recounting the events of recent days, I want to draw attention to the fact that despite its brevity and the fact that it was rapidly suppressed by the troops, the rebellion was of an exceptionally dangerous nature for the young republic. After the plot of the generals in Addis Ababa had been exposed, the rebellion flared up in Asmera, which is the headquarters of the second revolutionary army which performs most of the tasks of the struggle against the separatists in the north of the country. In addition a real threat has been created to the nearby airfield and naval base in Mits'iwa, which plays an important part in defending Ethiopia's sea borders....

Returning to Addis Ababa from the GDR 17 May, Mengistu Haile Mariam spoke in his speech on national radio and television of the suppression of all centers of resistance. He noted that the Revolutionary Armed Forces have resolutely acted on the side of the democratically elected government.

'Positive Development' Seen on Namibia Issue

PM2505094789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Tyurkin report: "Situation in Namibia: Clock Ticking Again"]

[Text] Brazzaville, 23 May—The situation in the southwest of Africa has stabilized.. Armed clashes in the north of Namibia have ceased. South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] detachments have withdrawn to Angola beyond the 16th parallel. According to the joint statement issued by L. Pinaar, RSA administrator general in Namibia, and M. Ahtisaari, the UN secretary general's representative in Namibia, South African troops have returned to their bases and the cease-fire accord has once again come into force.

Thus, the situation that existed 31 March—the eve of the first unsuccessful attempt to commence implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 granting independence to Namibia—has in effect been restored.

Observers reckon that the complications occasioned by April's clashes between SWAPO detachments and South African Army forces have been overcome on the whole. This enables the mechanism for the total settlement of the conflict to be set in motion. Its aim is the decolonization of Namibia and the guarantee of the security of the states in the region.

The meeting of the joint Angolan-Cuban-South African commission to supervise the settlement in South West Africa, which has just ended in Cahama (southern Angola), recommended that fulfillment of UN Security Council Resolution 435 be continued. The meeting's participants agreed to take steps to "restore trust and ease the continuation of the disrupted peace process."

This largely positive development of the situation on the diplomatic front reflects quite clearly the emergent political will on the part of all parties to the talks to resolve the chronic conflict peacefully. Although fighting in Namibia has, of course, created a serious threat to the settlement process, it has proved possible to remove this threat. Primarily owing to the actions of international diplomacy using the mechanism that the Brazzaville protocol envisaged in so far-sighted a manner—the joint tripartite commission.

People here reckon that the restoration of peace in Angola is an inalienable part of a genuine long-term settlement. A conference devoted to this acute question involving the heads of state of Central and Southern Africa was held in Luanda recently.

Adamishin Gives News Briefing on Southern Africa

LD2405091289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] A news conference devoted to Africa liberation day was held for Soviet and foreign journalists at the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Adamishin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, said in particular:

[Begin Adamishin recording] This year Africa liberation day really acquires its original meaning. The last colony on the African Continent is becoming an independent state. It is no secret to you that the decolonization process in Namibia came up against serious complications from the very beginning, and today I would like to inform you that there is one serious and positive circumstance, consisting in the fact that at a session of the joint commission which ended recently, where Angola, Cuba, and South Africa participate as full members and the Soviet Union and the United States are observers, it was stated that armed operations have halted in Northern Namibia, that South African troops are back at their bases, and that the SWAPO [South West African People's Organization] fighters are located north of the 16th parallel, as one of the agreements on Southern Africa sets out as a condition.

The process of executing [UN] Resolution 435 is thus restored. There is hope that, regardless of difficulties which might yet arise, the schedule for implementing the UN plan will be adhered to, and that the elections to Namibia's constituent assembly will be held on 1 November, as envisaged.

If everything goes successfully in Namibia, that will mean certain changes in the situation in the South of Africa as a whole, and more favorable conditions for the elimination of the primary cause of regional conflict in Southern Africa, namely the apartheid system in South Africa.

We, and I do not think we are alone, can see that the possibilities of accomplishing this task by political means, through negotiation, are expanding, and as we are faithful to the policy of political solutions to conflicts, we will continue to make every effort to assist in the achievement of an allembracing settlement in Southern Africa. [end recording]

[Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1325 GMT on 23 May adds: "Touching on the attempted coup in Ethiopia, Adamishin expressed the opinion that in the country a tendency is observable toward increasing stabilization, and this will make it possible to keep to the course of progressive transformations, peaceful solution of internal problems, and the further improvement of relations between Ethiopia and its neighbors."]

Adamishin Meets With Burundi Interior Minister

PM2205133189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under general rubric "Official Reports"]

[Text] A meeting took place 17 May between A.L. Adamishin, USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, and A. Kadoyi, member of the Military Committee for National Salvation executive committee and minister of interior of the Republic of Burundi. A number of topical international problems were discussed.

Borisov Commentary on Relations With Uganda

EA2105211489 Moscow International Service in Amharic 1530 GMT 17 May 89

[Vladimir Borisov commentary]

[Text] Journalists admire Uganda's natural beauty and call it the Switzerland of Africa. However, the history of the country has witnessed many ups and downs. Nevertheless, relations between the USSR and Uganda can be seen to have grown steadily irrespective of these ups and downs. On 9 October 1962 this East African country gained its independence. Two days later, the Soviet Union established diplomatic relations with Uganda. Two years later, the agreement on trade, technology and economic cooperation between the two countries was signed.

The USSR has shown understanding for the concrete economic situation and has helped Uganda to develop its economic sector. The construction of the cotton processing factory in Lira with Soviet assistance is clear proof of this cooperation. It should be recalled that before the completion of this factory, two other similar processing plants in existence could only handle 20 percent of the country's cotton harvest. After completion of the factory built with Soviet assistance, Uganda was able to process 80 percent of the cotton it produces. It should also be mentioned that the cooperation development project in (Busitema) which was built by the USSR, has become a training center for agricultural technicians. Since its inauguration in 1971, more than 1,000 skilled agricultural personnel have received their training and graduated. At present, Soviet Byelorus tractors are being tested at the college's demonstration center. When the test is completed, Uganda plans to buy many tractors of this kind.

Since both countries are experiencing perestroyka, the relations between the Soviet Union and Uganda today are being promoted to a new and developed stage of progress. The exchange of delegations at every level in particular has attracted great attention amongst the peoples and economic institutions of the two countries. For example, last year the Uganda cooperative societies visited the Soviet Union and held extensive discussions on important cooperation issues. During their visit to the Soviet consumer association, the Uganda cooperatives signed a cooperation agreement. Ugandans have expressed their desire to establish direct relations with counterpart associations in the Soviet republics. There is a common belief that such relations will help to promote Soviet-Ugandan cooperation to a new stage.

Kulik Assesses Mauritanian-Senegalese Strife
LD2205125789 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 22 May 89

[By TASS political news analyst Sergey Kulik]

[Text] Moscow May 22 TASS—To delay a solution of the Mauritania-Senegal conflict is to postpone a settlement of the complicated socio-economic problems which triggered it off. Therefore it is disappointing that high- placed representatives of the two countries have not come to terms at a meeting held in Bamako with Mali's mediation.

Ethnic clashes, which took place in Dakar and Nouakchott late in April, are known to have claimed at least 250 lives and turned about 70,000 people into refugees. But do inter-ethnic contradictions alone account for that tragedy? According to the Paris newspaper LE MONDE, "the clashes in Senegal and Mauritania have echoed the old problems of the continent, a leftover of colonial times. Despite western financial aid, African countries have a beggar's existence. Inter-ethnic clashes which flare up in different parts of Africa frequently express the poor's protest against their grievous plight."

The anti-Senegalese actions in Nouakchott and the anti-Mauritanian ones in Dakar have apparently been provoked by socio-economic factors. Just a spark was required for the poor to start looting department stores, shops and workshops of "the foreigners" who, they believe, own the businesses that could well be theirs. The newspaper L'HUMANITE described the events in Senegal and Mauritania: "clashes are complex problems that all developing countries are encountering," the newspaper said.

What has happened has only aggravated these problems, causing huge financial losses. An overwhelming majority of the refugees, who have now flooded Dakar and Nouakchott, were left not only without shelter but with no means of subsistence.

Both governments should now take immediate steps to solve the economic and social problems. And, according to a West African radio station news analyst, "the Nouakchott and Dakar leaders should remember that the peoples of their countries are destined by their geography to cooperation".

East Europe

Todor Zhivkov To Pay Visit Beginning of Jun
LD2405173289 Moscow TASS in English 1706 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—By mutual agreement, Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council of Bulgaria, will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union in the beginning of next June.

Unclear Bulgarian Citizenship Laws Prompt Tension
LD2405225389 Moscow TASS in English 1831 GMT 24 May 89

[By TASS correspondent Igor Mishakin]

[Text] Sofia May 24 TASS— The laws on foreign passports and Bulgarian citizenship, which were endorsed by Bulgaria's People's Assembly, were not given sufficient explanations among the population, the BTA news agency reported. Under the influence of biased broadcasts by Western radio stations, a tense situation arose in some populated localities of Razgrad and Varna regions on May 21-22.

In Todor-Ikonomovo village, Varna region, a group of extremists attacked officials, including representatives of militia, despite the calls to observe public order. A skirmish took place during an attempt to seize weapons. Two attackers were killed and three wounded by warning shots. One man was killed during disturbances in Kaolinovo. The BTA news agency stresses that the law passed by the Bulgarian People's Assembly will be implemented

precisely and in full. Under the law, each Bulgarian citizen has the right to leave the country whenever he or she wishes and to return home with Bulgarian foreign passport.

The need for the laws was not prompted by any time-serving considerations, BTA stresses. They were the expression of persistent policy of the free movement of citizens and communication between people, an example of the implementation of the principles endorsed at the Vienna meeting.

Jaruzelski Chairs Polish Defense Committee Session
LD2205114189 Moscow TASS in English 1111 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Warsaw May 22 TASS—The Defence Committee of the Polish People's Republic, which met here under the chairmanship of Army General Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and chairman of the State Council, mapped out ways to modernize the Polish doctrine.

The meeting also analysed the progress and prospects of the Vienna talks on disarmament in the European continent. It gave support to the Soviet disarmament initiatives and noted with satisfaction that the negotiations reflected increasingly the goals and contents of the "Jaruzelski's plan" to cut armaments and build up confidence in Central Europe. The Defence Committee also discussed the state of Poland's internal security and condemned adventuristic excesses. Attention was drawn to the fact that security depended on the observance of law and order, public tranquility, respect of the people's and state's supreme interests by all socio-political forces and citizens. The committee expressed the hope that understanding of this need will become universal. Taking into account the present developments, The Defence Committee discussed measures to ensure public tranquility and state stability.

Gdansk Antisocialist Demonstrations 'Failure'
PM2405135189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent L. Toporkov dispatch: "Extremists Rebuffed"]

[Text] Warsaw—The antisocialist and anti-Soviet demonstrations which continued on Saturday and Sunday, this time in Gdansk, ended in total failure for their organizers from the so-called "Polish Independent Party," the "Federation of Struggling Youth," and "Struggling 'Solidarity.'"

When, following divine service in Saint Brigida's Church, extremists tried to shout calls for an election boycott, and then their favorite "Down with Communism!", the city's residents not only failed to support them but simply drove them from the square in front of the church. And then a noisy group of some 70-80 people moved through the streets, filling them with anti-Soviet slogans, toward the House of Soviet Science and Culture. There activists of the "Federation of Struggling Youth" announced the overthrow of their former leadership and the formation of a new one, as well as their intention to act still more vigorously with a view to destroying the existing political system.

That statement was greeted with laughter and whistling by the curious public.

Polish Parliamentary Pre-Election Scene Examined
PM2405145189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent A. Starukhin dispatch: "Not Promising Pears on Willows... Poland on the Threshold of the Sejm and Senate Elections"]

[Text] Warsaw—Among the commonplace signs and advertisements in the streets of Warsaw and other Polish cities today you frequently encounter garish posters and slogans, addresses, and appeals on white linen that has not yet been dulled by the rain and sun—they tell of the approaching elections to the supreme organ of state power, to be held 4 June (and their second round 18 June), and describe the candidates and programs.

In store windows, on entrance doors, and even on mailboxes in the capital's Mokotow district can be seen an oh so tiny notice, the size of a printed visiting card, with a line printed in bright red and a facsimile signature beneath it: "We must win! Lech Walesa."

The newspapers are literally overloaded with election information. TRYBUNA LUDU has printed the All-Poland Electoral List of 35 candidate deputies of the Sejm, 10th convocation. It includes representatives of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR], the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party, of various public and religious organizations and trends, of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, and people of science and culture....

Rallies arise spontaneously in squares, in front of public buildings and churches, and speakers agitate without more ado or special explanation for a particular candidate, tirelessly repeating his name and a brief biographic sketch.

These elections have riveted the entire country's attention on them. The election campaign was preceded by the Sejm's approval of several draft laws concerning democratic changes and amendments to the Polish Constitution. Thus another chamber of parliament has been legitimated—the Senate, consisting of deputies elected chiefly by the opposition. By a majority of votes this chamber can halt Sejm decisions before adoption and

return them for a second examination, which is seen as one more—substantial—step toward wider regard for different opinions when implementing the legislative process.

The post of president of the country, jointly elected by both chambers of parliament, has been instituted. The president is endowed with great powers and has the right to appoint the head of government. By his authority he must guarantee democratic transformations and the system's stability.

A new statute on elections—equal, direct, and secret—has come into force. Whereas previously candidate deputies were nominated only by public and professional organizations, this may now be done simply by citizens living in any district or settlement or working at an enterprise—but it is important to collect at least 3,000 signatures.

In addition, the structure and the qualitative composition of the organizations participating in the elections have also changed: As a result of the agreements reached in the "roundtable" the independent, self-governing "Solidarity" trade union has been legalized, and a new law on public organizations has come into force, giving citizens the right freely to unite in various societies, while at the same time adhering to their own "distinctive" political orientation and their own views.

All this, starting with the transformations in the echelon of supreme power, is the result of national concord, the outcome of the "round table's" work, and, if you look still more deeply, a consequence of the processes of socialist renewal brought to life by the initiatives and the consistent and persistent actions of the PZPR and the entire ruling bloc of allied parties.

This, I believe, accounts for the immeasurably increased role of the elections. The corps of deputies promises to be more heterogeneous and independent than ever, and it must concentrate fully within itself those pluralistic principles and manifestations to which the floodgates down below, in the thick of the masses, have been thrown wide open. Behind the pluralism of positions and opinions stands the desire of numerous political and public groups and trends to approve their own programs and to influence somehow in their own way the course of affairs in the country and the further reshaping of its economy: One's own program always seems best.

Exactly 425 deputies are to be elected in Poland's 108 electoral districts. Naturally, far more candidates have been registered, because their number per seat has not been limited in any way. Depending on the size of the population, some districts have 2 seats, others have 3 or 4, while in 38 districts 5 worthy and popular representatives are to be elected. Two deputies per voivodship will be elected to the "lower" chamber—the Senate—except for the largest voivodships (Warsaw and Katowice), which will each be represented by three deputies.

The election campaign—its "peak hour" struck today—is proceeding in an unusually acute agitprop situation demonstrating the uncompromising struggle for every spare seat. The legalized and newly created organizations, in particular, are trying their utmost to assert themselves thanks to these elections and to secure while still on the move, as it were, the most tangible political bridgehead possible.

All the sides participating in the elections have published their programs and declarations in advance. The PZPR election declaration begins with these words: "We are opening a new chapter in Polish history. Understanding the demands of the present, we have begun a big program of political and economic transformations, whose success is guaranteed by the radically transformed party, the new form of its coalition alliances, and also the breakthrough achieved in the 'round table' in shaping agreement among the people's main forces. The PZPR is the chief initiator and guarantor of the current democratic shift. We want to restructure the Polish home together with the main forces in our society. Our aim is to create in Poland a democratic, socialist political system, whose chief element will be parliament, the state's supreme power."

It goes on to state that the PZPR defends the interests of people who live by their labor, and the country's well-being is linked with the efficient activity of the socialized sector of the economy and with dynamic agriculture. At the same time it points out that the development of private enterprise must also make a significant contribution to national well-being.

Here is the program of "Solidarity's" civilian committee: "These elections can help the public to control the government through its independent representatives." And here there is some explanation regarding the trade union's "control" functions—having a minority in parliament, it cannot accordingly form its "own" government and elect a president who entirely suits the opposition.

Indeed, 35 percent of the seats in the supreme organ of power have been allocated to deputies from the constructive opposition. But, one wonders, why should the coalition majority have fewer seats? Either insuring itself against possible surprises or accustoming people to long-term, albeit very vague prospects, "Solidarity" constantly stipulates when urging voters to vote for its representatives: The very next elections to the Sejm and the Senate must be "fully democratic."

Clearly, there is not enough democracy for everyone today. By virtue of each person's own understanding of it. And yet, as of 8 May, the independent trade union began publishing its own "election newspaper" with a print run of 150,000 copies and has every possibility, including the availability of paper, of increasing it to half a million copies. The next day Polish television began broadcasting weekly 45-minute programs prepared by

journalists from "Solidarity's" ranks. And direct agitation at rallies, at candidates' meetings with voters and with any audience, and at news conferences knows no bounds.

The election programs of the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party are attractive. In particular, the former intends to show more concern for the young generation, the development of peasants and specialists, and their social protection. It is characteristic that the programs are united by a common restraint in promises and a lack of 1-day slogans designed for effect, for "spare votes."

By all accounts, the agitators have also become more sober in their assessments of what is happening and of their own potential and rely on more profound arguments and on economic and political studies which can really bring the desired changes for society.

At a routine news conference Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the All-Polish Trade Union Accord, reported that he had nominated his candidacy in the elections and already collected almost 3,000 signatures at the V.I. Lenin Metallurgical Combine. Well, he emerged from among the workers of precisely that enterprise, and he was known there both as an exemplary working person and as a militant public-spirited person. Explaining his program, the candidate deputy said:

"I endeavor not to promise pears on a willow, for they just will not grow there. However, I do intend to influence substantially an improvement in the position of women in production: It is inadmissible that they work the third shift.... The time has come to think seriously about the future of young people, as well as, incidentally, about the present; about pensioners, who are straitened materially. I am concerned about the transfer of trade and food supplies to the market mechanism—this could occasion an appreciable price hike. The trade unions must foresee the consequences and prevent the worst of them."

The preelection competition is not devoid of "forbidden methods," when candidates do not modestly propagandize their own merits and potential so much as try to discredit their neighbors on the list, as has been observed repeatedly in the course of public statements by opposition candidates and their fiduciaries. Even quite extraordinary, incomprehensible things happen. There is a lot of talk nowadays of "Slupskgate."

Microphone bugs were discovered under the plaster in the premises of the local "Solidarity" civilian committee in Slupsk. The district prosecutor instituted proceedings in this connection, and an investigation was begun. The church, which had always declared its "neutrality," suddenly sympathized openly with "Solidarity": It said that the latter is still very weak organizationally and does not possess an adequate material base, but, at the same time, it is the most democratic stratum in the context of the elections and so must be supported.

Such is the preelection atmosphere in Poland in the new political situation, under conditions of broadening democracy, on the platform of new laws and statutes providing for the working people's fullest representation on organs of people's power and for the participation of all sections and creative groups of society.

Problems Seen With Danube Hydroelectric Project
PM2305131789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by B. Rodionov (Moscow), F. Lukyanov (Budapest), and L. Kornilov (Prague) under the "Panorama of International Events" rubric: "Dispute on the Danube"]

[Text] The Hungarian Government's decision to halt construction of the Nagymaros hydroelectric facility—an integral part of the joint Hungarian-Czechoslovak Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroelectric system on the Danube—has provoked a stormy reaction in the capitals of the neighboring Danube countries.

Let us recall that last October the Hungarian State Assembly voted by an overwhelming majority in favor of continuing and completing construction, given the full implementation of nature protection measures (IZVESTIYA No 293, 1988). Speaking then to deputies G. Horn, Hungarian Foreign Ministry state secretary (now Hungarian foreign minister), pointed out that abandoning fulfillment of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak intergovernmental agreement would be an unprecedented event in the last 40 years which would have an extremely adverse impact on Hungary's international prestige.

Let us note that Hungary has no powerful construction organizations on Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources lines interested in piling up work at hydroelectric installations, but on the other hand it does have an internationally renowned school of scientists, engineers, and hydraulic engineers. After the initial secrecy, which provoked well-founded public dissatisfaction, the Nagymaros hydroelectric facility project has been subjected to public examination and its nature conservancy aspects considerably intensified. An Austrian firm with universally recognized experience of construction work on the Danube undertook to carry out the project on credit—under very advantageous conditions for the Hungarians, moreover, with the credit being repaid in electricity from Nagymaros from 1996 (the first unit is scheduled for start-up in 1992). The Hungarian and Czechoslovak sections of the hydroelectric system are approaching 40-percent and 60-percent plus readiness respectively.

What has changed in Hungary since October 1988? The composition of the government, which is headed by a new premier M. Nemeth. After partially improving, the country's financial position has become even more complex and new emergency measures are being prepared to reduce the menacing budget deficit. The Danube program—requiring considerable investment at the current time of crisis with no promise of rapid profit—came under critical fire.

Government organs, above all the combined Ministry for the Protection of the Environment and Water Resources, were unable to convincingly rebut the criticism. Few people heard and understood the arguments put forward by specialists in favor of the project. The opposition, using an economic and scientific problem as a means of political struggle, took advantage of this. Exploiting the population's concern for the environment, its fear of natural disasters—for instance, an unprecedented earthquake that might destroy the dam and submerge Budapest—and its mistrust of official data (it was claimed that construction costs had been halved), the opposition began to demand a national referendum and collected tens of thousands of signatures. Voters began to be brainwashed with a view to recalling the project's most active supporters from parliament early. They were dubbed "conformists" and "opponents of reform." The Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party [MSZMP] played a waiting game. The number of "Danube defenders" began to grow in parliament.

The Hungarian Council of Ministers consultative commission recently recommended that the government halt construction in the current situation. This recommendation was accepted. The parliament will make the final decision—after 2 months additional study of all aspects of the problem. M. Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has announced that with the parliament's consent the government is proposing to embark on talks with the CSSR to change the interstate agreement. P. Habas, the government official dealing with the hydroelectric cascade, told an MTI correspondent that, in view of Hungary's international pledges, stopping construction will cost the Hungarian taxpayer more than completing it. Many information organs in Hungary dispute this claim and reckon that the government has made a reasonable decision and is not trying to win prestige while meeting public opinion halfway.

At the same time construction workers on the Czechoslovak side, where work has been more active from the very outset, are entering the final lap. The intention is for the Gabcikovo hydroelectric facility to provide Czechoslovakia and Hungary with power as of 1 July 1990. The Slovak government presidium, at an extraordinary session, expressed surprise regarding Budapest's unilateral decision, recalling that the hydroelectric system is after all a joint construction project. Abandoning construction of Nagymaros would nullify the economic advantages of this unified hydrotechnical system and would drastically reduce the effectiveness of the installations on CSSR territory. Construction there will continue at its former rate for the time being. Remember that the start-up of the Gabcikovo power assemblies was brought forward by 15 months at one time at Hungary's request.

The CSSR Government, Foreign Minister J. Johanes stated, insists on observance of the agreement. Otherwise the Czechoslovak side reserves the right to demand compensation for its expenditure (according to the press, the CSSR has already invested Kcs10 billion). The CSSR is ready for talks to find a way to successfully complete the project.

How does the Czechoslovak side view the ecological aspects of the construction work? Academician L. Kubicek stressed in a conversation with IZVESTIYA's correspondent that the Czechoslovak planners' main concern was not to improve Danube navigation, which is in itself extremely important, nor even to obtain electric power, but to protect Slovakia's inhabitants against catastrophic flooding. Flooding of land in the plan of the cascade was reduced to a minimum. Environmental examinations were carried out on several occasions involving most prominent specialists, including foreign specialists. Following numerous discussions a project was elaborated with the Hungarian side; the implementation of this project is nearing completion.

The ensuing situation was discussed at a routine Austrian Government session. Finance Minister F. Lacina gave assurances at a press conference that Austrian taxpayers would not have to pay off Austrian firms' possible losses (these are estimated at 0.8-1 billion schillings). The debts will be recovered. Austria is also insisting on the fulfillment of Hungary's pledge to provide an annual supply of 1.2 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity as of 1996. Budapest's MAGYAR HIRLAP writes, citing Vienna Radio, that Austrian Electricity management is not interested in where Hungary gets this electricity from—if not from the Nagymaros hydroelectric facility, maybe from additional supplies from Soviet nuclear power stations. (We leave the latter piece of speculation to the authors' conscience).

The cooperation between the three neighboring Danube countries is undergoing an unexpectedly severe test today.

GDR Delegation Arrives for Cooperation Meeting

LD2405225789 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (ADN)—A GDR delegation arrived in Moscow [22 May] to participate in the 42d session of the Government Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and the USSR. It is headed by Gerhard Schuerer,

deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Commission, candidate member of the SED Politburo. The delegation also includes other ministers, state secretaries, deputy ministers and other people.

The session begins Tuesday [23 May] in the Soviet capital.

West Europe

Gorbachev Sends Message to Ozal on Soviet Pilot

NC2505084089 Istanbul HURRIYET in Turkish 22 May 89 p 11

[Report by Hulki Cevizolgu, Mehmet Guner, and Fuat Kars: "A Threat by the Soviet Union"]

[Excerpts] Ankara/Trabzon, (HURRIYET News Service)—The message Mikhail Gorbachev sent to Prime Minister Ozal yesterday increased to its highest level the tension between Turkey and the Soviet Union created by pilot Aleksandr Zuyev, who hijacked a MiG-29 and landed, wounded, in Trabzon.

In the message he sent through USSR Ambassador to Turkey Albert Chernyshev, Gorbachev demanded the return of "both the pilot and the hijacked aircraft." Gorbachev's message, which had a threatening tone, said: "This move will contribute toward the further development of relations between the two countries."

According to the information acquired by a HURRIYET correspondent, Chernyshev asked to meet Prime Minister Ozal yesterday morning. However, Ozal informed him that he had no time because he was about to leave for Tunisia. Foreign Minister Mesut Yilmaz received Chernyshev in his office instead and held talks with him for 1 and ½ hours. Yilmaz is reported to have received Gorbachev's message to Ozal during this meeting. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile, the General Secretariat of the General Staff issued a statement last night, saying that the Turkish air defense system reacted against the Soviet fighter aircraft that landed in Turkey on time. The statement said:

"Any aircraft may individually penetrate through certain border areas, particularly in areas with a rough terrain, by flying at a very low altitude and by using the blind regions of radar scanning. There are many examples of this in the world. In fact, it is common knowledge that sports-type [spor tipi] aircraft fly over border areas in even the most developed regions for drug trafficking and other reasons, without being detected by radar.

"However, the possibility of such infiltrations poses no obstacle to the development of air defense and warning systems and active prevention measures. The Turkish air defense system reacted to this incident in time. In fact, our radar detected the aircraft which landed in Turkey and the other Soviet hunter aircraft, which scrambled to force it to turn back, on time and placed them under control. Furthermore, our radar systems alerted the closest hunter units to be ready to take off to obstruct the said aircraft. Our interceptor aircraft were not instructed to take off when the Soviet plane tried to land at Trabzon's civilian airport and when the intercepting Soviet hunter aircraft turned back without entering our airspace.

"Meanwhile, our radar detected the approach of a foreign aircraft toward our country from the north at 2000 on the same day (20 May 1989). Interceptor aircraft were instructed to take off from the closest military base when it was established that the incoming flight was unauthorized. Our aircraft intercepted the foreign flight at a point to the north of Trabzon and forced it to return to its own country.

"A number of newspapers reported that an Air Defense and Anti-Tank System [ADATS] does not exist at Trabzon airport. ADATS is the name of a low-altitude defense system manufactured by foreign country. Although at the present time similar systems do not exist at a number of airports, including Trabzon, these airports are under the regional air defense umbrella of our air force."

Hijacking Incident Detailed

LD2405212689

[Editorial report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 24 May in its "Vremya" newscast carries a report on the 20 May hijacking of a MiG-29 from Tskhakya airfield in Trabzon, Turkey. The announcer states that a Moscow television correspondent interviewed Lieutenant General Shaposhnikov, identified as first deputy commander in chief of the air force on the subject.

The video shows an unidentified correspondent speaking with a military officer said to be Lt Gen Shaposhnikov. The correspondent asks Shaposhnikov what conclusions the commission investigating the hijacking made. Shaposhnikov replies, "It was established by the commission that the pilot Zuyev had prepared himself well in advance for committing the crime that he had planned. While he was a member of a shift responsible for receiving and releasing one-man aircraft at Tskhakaya airfield, he put sleeping pills in his colleague's food. He then made his way to a guarded facility and attacked the sentry." The correspondent then asks, "How did it happen that the duty facilities were, nevertheless, unable to detain the aircraft? How did the air defense facilities react?" Shaposhnikov replies, "The air defense facilities were alerted promptly. Air defense fighters were also sent out promptly and matched up with the take-off schedule stipulated in the order. But, since it was only a short distance from the criminal's take-off airfield to the landing airfield, and the altitude was extremely low while the speed was high, the air defense force was unable, in

the circumstances, to prevent, intercept, or destroy the transgressor aircraft. It was not their fault. They acted efficiently, correctly, and in accordance with orders, but it was impossible to complete their task under such circumstances."

The video then switches from the lieutenant-general's office to show the sentry, Private Ali Chomayev, identified by screen caption, who was wounded during the fight with Captain Zuyev and who is now said to be in the Kutaisi military hospital. After the announcer gives a short biography of Chomayev, an unidentified reporter interviews the surgeon in charge of the case. The surgeon notes that Chomayev had three bullet wounds.

The reporter is next shown seen at the bedside of a man whose left arm is in a cast. He explains that toward the end of his shift, he was standing between two aircraft when Capt Zuyev appeared unexpectedly. He says Zuyev attacked him, and Chomayev tried to use his submachine gun, but it was knocked to the ground. He says Zuyev tried to use a knife, but the blow was deflected, saying Zuyev then used his revolver. Chomayev says he fell to the ground, but managed to set his submachine gun on to the automatic-fire position and emptied the magazine in the direction of the fleeing Zuyev. He was then, he said, brought to the hospital in Kutaisi, where he underwent an operation. The interview concludes with Chomayev's emotional expression of gratitude to the hospital staff.

'Diplomatic War' With Britain Explained

LD2405115389 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Eleven Soviet citizens have been given 2 weeks to leave Britain for activity, as has been alleged, incompatible with their status. This concerns diplomats, trade mission officials, the military attache, and journalists. Moscow has retaliated by asking 11 British citizens to leave the Soviet Union. Simultaneously the British offices personnel in Moscow will be reduced down to 205 people to equal the Soviet offices personnel quota in Britain. Now is this a new act of diplomatic war? Mikhail Mayorov explains:

It looks like it, even though it is hard to believe that such grim moments of the past may return in Soviet-British relations. An official assessment given at a briefing in Moscow says the step is undoubtedly against the nature and level of bilateral ties. There is one point to be made about this outbreak of spy mania in London and this is that those who adopted that decision surely knew well what they were doing and when. In the last few weeks both London and Washington have been mounting an intensive campaign for nuclear modernization in Europe—modernization that has been resisted. Not only have the West Europeans welcomed Moscow's unilateral disarmament of troop reduction measures, but they have been increasingly trusting the Soviet Union advocating new political thinking. No wonder the nuclear modernization advocates have decided to reincarnate the image of an adversary to settle the issue in their favor.

It is regrettable that journalists of both sides have fallen victim to this diplomatic war at a time when, at the recent information forum in London, European and North American journalists had been discussing among other points ways of improving their work in the countries of their accreditation. Thanks to Soviet correspondents in Britain, we have familiarized ourselves lately with unbiased assessments of that country. No exaggeration to say that such publications created an atmosphere of goodwill on the eve of the Soviet leader's visit to London and in the long run contributed to its success. Isn't it an easy way to sacrifice the positive experience to what is objectively aimed at continuing the military antagonism in Europe?

Expellee Does Not Begrudge UK

PM2405120389 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 p 8

[Article by Yuriy Sagaydak under the "Own Correspondent's Column" rubric: "From England With Love"]

[Text] London—On Friday May 19 the British Government announced the expulsion from the country of 11 Soviet citizens. Your own correspondent was among those given 2 weeks to leave Britain.

This happened in accordance with a decades-old tradition: At the very moment that Soviet institutions in Moscow are already closing for the weekend because of the 3-hour time difference there, the Soviet ambassador was summoned to the British Foreign Office where he was handed the note in question. The plan is simple: While the necessary people are being assembled in Moscow and while retaliatory measures are being prepared London will be able to mount a propaganda campaign in the mass media. Then any statement by our side will look like an excuse.

This time the British got it wrong: We have become noticeably more dynamic in our foreign policy. Thus, the response came exactly 24 hours later—11 British representatives were expelled from the Soviet Union for activity incompatible with their official status.

What has happened in relations between our countries which just a month ago were characterized by British officials in a fit of euphoria as the "best in the entire postwar period"? It is hard to give a clear-cut answer to that question. The most important thing, perhaps, is that turmoil reigns in the British Government on a whole range of issues which bear no direct relation to us. London's "special" relations with the new U.S. President, G. Bush, are still not running smoothly. Britain's NATO partners are refusing to modernize their tactical nuclear weapons and are talking about the need to reduce and even eliminate them. And Thatcher has been

forced to fight virtually single-handedly against 10 governments. After all, the removal of tactical missiles from Europe after the intermediate-range missiles will inevitably raise a question about the fate of Britain's nuclear forces. And then Britain, routed in a trade and economic struggle by the West Europeans, will lose its much sought after great power status....

On the whole, the Prime Minister's position is complex. By all accounts she has panicked—something which, incidentally, was absolutely untypical of her before. Her imagination couldn't stretch beyond the tired old ploys. A foreign foe was needed. And one was found, right there, close at hand. Spies. Nothing but spies all around.... They are to blame for everything!

However, the nature of what one may call the espionage activity of the expelled Soviet citizens is still unclear. No concrete accusations have been made.

At this point I must mention a quote from a statement yesterday by George Robinson, the shadow foreign affairs spokesman: "The Foreign Secretary must explain in the House of Commons what is actually going on. The mystery is deepening, particularly with regard to the Soviet journalists. This is a time when Soviet personnel have visited a secret Defense Ministry chemical establishment and when, under the terms of the Stockholm accords, they can attend any military exercises. What kind of espionage can there be in relation to journalists?"

Should the Prime Minister be blamed personally for what has happened? I do not know yet. Should one harbor grudges against the British? Or against the many friends I have made in this country? Of course not! Public opinion here now has clearly and unambiguously turned in our favor. And the benevolence with which the British now speak about our country, our people, our triumphs and failures is partly due to the work of Soviet journalists. That means that the 2 years I have spent in England have not been in vain!

From the Editorial Office: Yuriy Sagaydak hardly needs an introduction to our readers—he is one of the newspaper's best foreign correspondents. You will remember well his reports on life in Britain. In 1987 Yu. Sagaydak was ajudged KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's best reporter and awarded the A. Levina prize. We look forward to seeing our colleague in Moscow—there is much work to be done here.

Thatcher Voices 'Gloomy' View of Europe's Future
PM2505084189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 21 May 89 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Britain: On the Future of Europe"]

[Text] The priorities in the Conservative Cabinet's defense policy over the next few years are as follows: firm adherence to the "nuclear deterrence" strategy; the preservation of the U.S. military presence in Western Europe; the strengthening of the North Atlantic alliance; and the modernization of tactical nuclear missiles.

That was the burden of what Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said in an interview with a BBC correspondent to mark the 10th anniversary of her coming to power.

According to the head of the British Government, "if the Soviet leadership is successful in fulfilling its tasks, this will put an end to the 'cold war.'"

Despite that optimistic conclusion, the prime minister sees Europe's future in quite a gloomy light. People have begun to to put too much trust in speeches, M. Thatcher reckons, they are clearly failing to take into consideration the possibility of "unforeseen dangerous situations" arising. That is why she advised Britain's West European allies to preserve both nuclear and conventional arms on the continent in the interests of keeping peace in order to "deter" a potential adversary.

M. Thatcher criticized the FRG public for its refusal to site modernized U.S. tactical weapons on the country's territory and she categorically opposed talks on short-range nuclear missiles, which are, in her opinion, a "reliable means of deterrence" in the event of a possible "Soviet invasion."

Shevardnadze To Visit Cyprus in Early Jun
LD2505022689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0111 GMT 25 May 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Nicosia, May 24 (TANJUG) Eduard Shevardnadze the Soviet diplomacy chief, would visit Cyprus soon, it was learned in well- informed diplomatic circles here today. The Soviet foreign minister will come to Nicosia early next month, immediately after his visit to Greece, diplomatic sources indicated.

Not to be ruled out is the possibility of Shevardnadze visiting Ankara as well. So, among observers here, his mission is viewed within the context of initiatives for a continuation in the dialogue between the Greek and Turkish communities for solving the Cypriot problem. Being reminded in relation to this is that the question of Cyprus was discussed during Shevardnadze's meeting with his U.S. counterpart, James Baker, in Moscow a short time ago.

It is evaluated that Moscow and Washington, in the framework of their dynamically solving many of their regional conflicts, are trying to pave ways for solving the problem of Cyprus and reviving the dialogue between the two ethnic communities on this eastern Mediterranean island.

Gorbachev Congratulates FRG President on Election
LD2405204789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 May

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev has congratulated West German Federal President Richard Weizsaecker on his election to the post of head of state.

In his message, Gorbachev expressed confidence that relations between the Soviet Union and the Federal Republic of Germany, encouraged by the resumption of a direct top-level political dialogue, will successfully develop for the benefit of the peoples of the two nations and in the interests of stronger peace and security and the construction of an all-European home.

I hope, says the telegram from Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, that the meetings and conversations with you, Mr President, with Federal Chancellor Kohl, and with other FRG politicians in the course of the forthcoming visit to your country, will serve this end.

FRG Information Official Reviews Soviet Ties
LD2405050289 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—The 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the Fundamental Law (Constitution) of the FRG and the foundation of the FRG state, observed today, is undoubtedly among the most important events of this year, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate of the USSR Foreign Ministry, told TASS.

He recalled that the history of the development of Soviet-West German dialogue starts from 1955, when diplomatic relations were established between the two countries. But throughout a prolonged period, this dialogue had a formal nature and its level was not high, Gremitskikh said. The turn in relations of the FRG with the Soviet Union and with other European socialist countries, including the GDR, was made in 1970 in connection with the conclusion of the Treaty of Moscow.

A solid potential of mutual confidence accumulated over the past 20 years, Gremitskikh said. The USSR and the FRG interacted actively in the preparation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, as well as during subsequent functions in the framework of the European process. There exist points of contact in the discussion of arms control and disarmament problems.

FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl made a visit to the USSR in 1988. A reply visit to the FRG by Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev is planned for June 12-15 of the current year.

The sides agreed that the exchange of visits by the leaders of the two countries should bring the USSR and the FRG to a qualitatively new level of interaction as partners. A joint statement is expected to be adopted in Bonn. Proceeding from the Treaty of Moscow, it will sum up the experience of the development of bilateral cooperation and outline the roads of its development.

"The Soviet Union and the FRG have a unique opportunity to use their considerable political, scientific, technological, economic and cultural potential of cooperation in tackling major international problems and questions of bilateral relations," Gremitskikh said. "It is hoped in the USSR that the Soviet leader's forthcoming visit to the Federal Republic of Germany will bring the two countries much closer to this aim."

FRG Social Democrats Visit Moscow 16-19 May
PM2405122189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Social Democratic Party of Germany Delegation in Moscow"]

[Text] A Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] delegation consisting of H. Schaefer, chairman of the SPD faction in the FRG Bundestag, and Bundestag Deputies M. Mueller and V. Jung visited Moscow 16-19 May at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee.

Questions of environmental protection and the prospects for cooperation in this sphere were discussed during talks in a number of union departments and scientific institutes and meetings with people's deputies and representatives of the public.

The delegation was received at the CPSU Central Committee International Department.

Spanish Defense Minister Gives Moscow News Brief
LD2405145789 Moscow TASS in English 1441 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—"The Spanish Government attaches great importance to the development of contacts with the Soviet Union in the military domain", it was stated by the Spanish defence minister Narciso Serra, who is currently on an official visit in the USSR at the invitation of Dmitriy Yazov, the Soviet defence minister. Narciso Serra addressed newsmen today at the press centre of the Soviet Foreign Ministry. During the current visit, he said, the sides have arrived at the conclusion that contacts on defence matters supplement effectively the existing diplomatic relations, permit to deepen and develop bilateral cooperation.

Narciso Serra noted the cordiality and interest displayed towards him by the Soviet side. He said that during his talk with Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Politburo of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, they had discussed certain aspects of inter-state relations and defence policies of the USSR and Spain.

In the course of the negotiations with Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov, Narciso Serra said, the sides have exchanged information on the structure and composition of the Soviet and Spanish Armed Forces. He noted that they had brought out much in common in the approaches of both sides to problems of security in the European continent, which can be ensured only by a balanced reduction of armaments.

The defence ministers of the USSR and Spain decided to approach the governments of their respective countries with a request to set up military attache offices at the Spanish Embassy in Moscow and Soviet Embassy in Madrid. They are expected to open at the end of this year.

In the course of his visit the Spanish defence minister called at the Academy of the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, visited an airforce unit at Kubinka and also the deployment area of the Taman Guards Motorised Division, where he watched battalion exercises. Narciso Serra has also been to Leningrad, where he visited the command station of the Leningrad Military Area and the Naval Academy named after Marshal of the Soviet Union Grechko.

Serra Departs for Spain 24 May

LD2405145889 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1420 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (TASS)—Spanish defense Minister Narciso Serra, who has been in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Army General Dmitriy Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister, left for his home country today. He was seen off at the airport by Army General Yazov and other officials.

Jose Cuenca, Spain's ambassador to the USSR, was among those seeing him off.

French Military Policy Shifts Toward 'Flexibility'

PM2405152589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Vladimir Bolshakov dispatch under the "Correspondent Comments" rubric: "Paris Corrects Course"]

[Text] Paris, 22 May—President F. Mitterrand recently placed new emphasis in France's foreign and military policy in Paris and rocked French and West European political circles.

At a press conference the president expounded France's stance on nuclear and conventional disarmament, relations between developed capitalist countries and socialist countries and also with developing countries, the building of a "single Europe," and the situation in the Near East. The president in fact expounded his action program in all these areas up to 1993, that is for the full term of his presidency.

The president confirmed that debates have been under way for a long time within the government of the ruling Socialist Party: France intends to slow the pace of the arms race. It is a question of reducing scheduled military expenditure by Fr40-45 billion, that is by almost 10 percent, in the period up to 1993 and of reducing the current 5-year program (1986-1990) for modernizing and building up France's military arsenal adopted by right-wing parties in 1986 by Fr16-18 billion.

A year ago it would have been quite inconceivable for France to accept this. The president has been able to do this now, observers stress, not only because of his prestige, which has become stronger since his reelection last year, but primarily owing to the new military-political reality that has taken shape in Europe as a result of the active policy pursued by the USSR and other socialist countries in the sphere of disarmament and strengthening all aspects of the Helsinki process.

It is undoubtedly to President F. Mitterrand's credit and a matter of success for all France's left-wing forces that this new reality has been acknowledged and France's course amended in view of it. Of course, it is too early as yet to talk about a resolute shift in French policy. The main programs mapped out by the Right in the sphere of modernizing France's nuclear missile and conventional forces have not been abrogated and the president was quite definite on that. Thus there should be no talk of a "weakening of France's defense capability," with which both Rightists and ultra-Right are now reproaching the president. Nonetheless, without even having dissociated itself once and for all from the "superarmaments policy," France has now shown a flexibility, which will inevitably effect the progress of future talks on nuclear disarmament. Paris' plan is for nuclear disarmament to develop along with the process of ensuring parity or, as F. Mitterrand says, "equilibrium" in the sphere of NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional arms and of all Europe's further progression—both capitalist and socialist—in building an "all-European home" and a "Europe for Europeans." Of course, the president is not in favor of including Europe's socialist countries in the "single Europe" formed by the "Common Market." He is in favor of overcoming the "cold war," which resulted from the artificial division of Europe and in favor of rapprochement among its peoples and states.

Following F. Mitterrand's press conference there were many disputes concerning his opinion of the elimination of short-range missiles in Europe. At first the U.S. and French press announced that the president allegedly opposed Soviet-U.S. talks on this question and rejected the FRG Government stance. Commentaries by Bonn officials and explanations by the French side, however, enabled everything to be set to right. During the press conference the president did not, firstly, try to impose his opinion on anyone and emphasized that this question should be resolved by those people whom it directly concerns, namely the states within the NATO military organization. Second, having expressed his opinion on

this question, F. Mitterrand proposed, as many people are now noting, a compromise that would enable the gap between the U.S. and British positions on the one hand and the FRG on the other to be bridged. The French president proposed that the U.S. "Lance" missiles not be modernized until the Soviet Union modernizes its own intermediate-range missiles especially since, he said, there is no "technical urgency" for such modernization. While not ruling out Soviet-U.S. talks on a "third zero" in principle, President F. Mitterrand proposed that there be no rush for the actual "zero" until there is "equilibrium" in the conventional arms sphere.

His opinion on the whole range of questions touched upon during his press conference, particularly on questions of disarmament and relations with socialist countries, is indisputably intended for people gathering for the NATO summit meeting that opens 29 May in Brussels to mark the bloc's 40th anniversary. F. Mitterrand's working visit to the United States, where he is at the minute, is part of the preparations for this summit. F. Mitterrand's speech has shown that France is in favor of the NATO bloc showing definite flexibility in dialogue with the Warsaw Pact—flexibility that would consider more fully the corresponding current military-political reality.

CPSU Delegation Departs for Finland 22 May

PM2405134189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
23 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Businesslike Trip"]

[Text] A delegation of CPSU party workers specializing in the economy, headed by B.N. Ladygin, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee Socioeconomic Department, left Moscow for Helsinki 22 May in accordance with the plan for ties between the CPSU and the Finnish Social Democratic Party. During the trip the delegation will familiarize itself with certain aspects of the Finnish Social Democrats' economic policy.

Latin America & Caribbean

U.S. Maneuvers in Panama Stir 'Military Hysteria'

LD2505083289 Moscow TASS in English 0800 GMT
25 May 89

[By TASS correspondents Eldar Abdullaev and Aleksandr Chernov]

[Text] Panama City May 25 TASS—Practically all the personnel of Pentagon bases deployed in the Panama Canal zone are now taking part in a major military exercise here.

Radio and TV channels of the U.S. southern command broadcast live one-hour reports from the scene of the military exercise. Ground forces, the Air Force and the Navy are taking part in the military exercise. They trained the landing of paratroopers and marine troops with the support of artillery, tanks and tactical air force consisting of several fighter squadrons and helicopters. According to reports of the southern command, the main purpose of the military exercise is the enhancing of the mobilising and combat preparedness of U.S. troops and the checking of the level of coordination and cooperation, as well as the degree of the adaptation of the newly arrived 2,000-strong contingent to the climatic and geographic conditions of Panama. The troops participating in the military exercise practiced prompt actions to repulse an imaginary enemy.

The true purpose of the military exercise is to try to heighten again internal political tension in Panama and to reinforce the policy of pressure and blackmail against the present leadership of Panama pursued by the United States. By whipping up military hysteria and by muscle-flexing, the Pentagon is pretending that U.S. national security interests continue to be threatened in Panama. In this way the world and, primarily, the American public will be kept in a state of permanent tension because of the alleged "inevitability" of an armed conflict between the two countries.

Soviet-Cuban Commission Views Joint Projects

PM2305125989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Commission's Session"]

[Text] The 19th session of the Soviet-Cuban Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation was held in Moscow 19-20 May. The session discussed a broad range of questions of bilateral ties between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba in the sphere of the economy, science, and technology.

In line with the tasks set during the visit by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Cuba and his talks with F. Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, special attention was given to the maximum development and improvement of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation and trade relations between our countries.

Measures were planned to ensure fulfillment of commitments for reciprocal commodity deliveries and to enhance efficiency in the utilization of enterprises built in the Republic of Cuba with assistance from the USSR; progress in the construction of Soviet-Cuban cooperation projects, including the "Juragua" Nuclear Power Station, was examined; and ways to implement joint programs in the agro-industrial complex sphere were defined.

There was discussion on questions of fulfilling measures for the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for CEMA Countries' Scientific and Technical Progress Through the Year 2000 and the coordination of state plans between the USSR and the Republic of Cuba for

1991-1995, held on the basis of the bilateral concept for the development of foreign economic relations between the USSR and Cuba through the year 2000.

The Soviet delegation to the 19th session of the Soviet-Cuban Intergovernmental Commission was headed by V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and the Cuban by C.R. Rodriguez, deputy chairman of the Republic of Cuba Council of Ministers. J. Camacho Aguilera, ambassador of the Republic of Cuba to the USSR, also took part in the commission's work.

The talks proceeded in a spirit of friendship and complete mutual understanding.

Chilean Communist Party Congress Convenes

PM2205154589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 First Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Congress Held"]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 18 May—The 15th Chilean Communist Party [PCCh] Congress, in which 200 delegates from various areas of the country took part, has been held underground. Preparations for the Chilean Communists' forum, which took place 10-14 May this year, were under way for 5 months throughout the country. During the preparations the new conditions that have taken shape in Chile after almost 16 years of dictatorship were analyzed and Communists' determination to struggle to restore democracy and against Pinochet's attempts to preserve the dictatorial regime while merely slightly updating its outward appearance was confirmed.

The 15th PCCh Congress confirmed the tactics and strategy for action over the coming period. Communists consider one of the party's main tasks to be to defeat the dictatorship in the coming December elections by rallying the opposition, nominating a single presidential candidate, and elaborating a joint program. The struggle to free political prisoners, investigate the crimes committed by Pinochet's butchers, prosecute them, oppose the regime's policy of denationalizing the state sector, democratize the education system, and boost the Chilean people's standard of living is the cornerstone of PCCh work.

Volodia Teitelboim, the well known Chilean writer and politician, was elected general secretary of the PCCh. He replaced Luis Corvalan, who headed the party for 30 years. The Chilean Communists' congress made an amendment to the party statutes whereby a 4-year term of office was established for the general secretary with the possibility of reelection on two occasions.

At a press conference in Santiago, V. Teitelboim pointed out the businesslike atmosphere in which the congress took place and the absence of rival trends within the PCCh leadership. The PCCh general secretary stressed that Chilean Communists ardently support restructuring in the USSR, but are not copying anyone.

CPSU Leadership Sends Greetings

PM2205154189 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
19 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee greetings message to 15th Chilean Communist Party Congress]

[Text] To the 15th Chilean Communist Party [PCCh] Congress
Dear Comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee ardently greets delegates to the 15th congress of the fraternal PCCh.

Your party has paid with the lives and freedom of hundreds of Communists in order to stand firm under the onslaught of the most brutal persecution and to bring nearer the restoration of the democratic system, crushed by the bloody military coup of 1973. In the most difficult times it has continued to courageously uphold the interests of working people and the entire people and has been able to retain its ties with the masses. The bankrupt dictatorship is still trying today to deprive the PCCh of the opportunity to operate legally. But it is powerless to suppress the voice of Chilean Communists.

Favorable changes are now taking place in the world, a shift away from confrontation toward cooperation has emerged, and the principles of the new political thinking—the most fundamental of which is freedom of choice—are being affirmed.

The CPSU confirms its invariable solidarity with the struggle of Chile's Communists and all its democrats and patriots for the free and independent development of their homeland.
We wish the 15th PCCh Congress successful work.
[Signed] CPSU Central Committee

Gorbachev Greets Leader Teitelboim

PM2205150589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[M.S. Gorbachev message of congratulations to Communist Party of Chile's Teitelboim]

[Text] To Comrade Volodia Teitelboim, general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile
Dear Comrade Volodia Teitelboim!

I cordially congratulate you on your election as general secretary of the Communist Party of Chile, a party whose selfless struggle against the dictatorship and for the triumph of democracy and the working people's vital interests has gained it deserved respect at home and abroad.

I express confidence that the fraternal relations existing between our parties will successfully develop and will serve the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Chile.
With communist greetings,
[Signed] M. Gorbachev

Teitelboim Gives News Conference

PY2005184089 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] The new secretary general of the Chilean Communist Party [PCCh], Volodia Teitelboim, said during his first news conference that he was elected as a consensus candidate, not to preside over a transition period.

Teitelboim's election was the crowning point of the 15th PCCh Congress, held between 10 and 14 May with 200 delegates in attendance.

Teitelboim held his first news conference with five local media and two news agencies in Santiago on Tuesday [16 May].

Teitelboim stressed that the opposition sector should unite during the political transition around a single presidential candidate, present joint list of candidates for congress and a basic program for the next administration.

He said that the PCCh is ready to make whatever sacrifices are needed to reestablish democracy through the 14 December presidential and congressional elections. He criticized the opposition secotrs that want to exclude the Communists.

Teitelboim said that opposition politicians should not resort to the same prohibitions as Pinochet's regime, adding that the PCCh policy of rebellion of the masses has been distorted, ridiculized, rejected, and regarded as an evil.

The party's secretary general is elected every 4 years during PCCh congresses. He can be reelected twice.

Teitelboim said: Twelve years as secretary general is enough, even too much. He criticized lifetime offices as a vice of Stalinism.

The secretary general said that the 15th PCCh Congress was an occasion for renewal and that all PCCh members are fervent supporters of the policy of perestroyka currently being implemented in the Soviet Union. However, Teilteboim stressed, perestroyka should not be mechanically imitated because imitations do not render positive results.

Most of the PCCh Central Committee members are young people. Luis Corvalan and Gladys Marin were reelected, while others such as Americo Zorrilla and Orlando Millas did not run for leadership positions.

Teitelboim stressed that rebellion of the masses is a policy that implies coordinating strategy and tactics in order to resolve the fundamental contradiction between dictatorship and democracy, and that it is a policy that will end fascism and restore democracy and popular sovereignty.

He criticized the fact that this policy has been distorted by the opposition and gave assurances that the PCCh will concentrate all its efforts on the electoral struggle.

The PCCh proposes a single presidential candidate who can either be an independent or a member of a party. It also proposes a single list of candidates for deputies and senators, Teitelboim added. The Communists oppose the creation of two lists of congressional candidates for the opposition as that would be tantamount to electoral suicide. Neither will they accept being excluded from the lists because the PCCh represents a sector of the electorate and is not ready to commit harakiri.

The PCCh is prepared, however, to reduce what it believes to be an adequate number of its candidates in order to help defeat Pinochet and his regime and ensure that the opposition has a majority in Congress. Teitelboim added that the PCCh will gladly accept a Christian Democratic Party majority in Congress.

The basic program of government that the PCCh proposed includes 12 items, among which is the rejection of any attempt to establish a military supergovernment above the civilian government after March 1990. Another item demands that truth and justice prevail in connection with the violation of human rights.

Teitelboim made it clear that there is no desire to take to court the armed forces as an institution, adding that they must return to the fold of the people. The Communists also propose a review and annulment of the privatization of state-owned companies and they want to implement several steps to better salaries, housing, women's rights, the rights of ethnic minorities, and environmental protection.

The 15th PCCh Congress lasted 5 months, during which time an open-minded and self-critical approach to the party, both in Chile and abroad, prevailed. Over 10,000 hours were spent on discussions. The congress was productive, critical, and impassionate. Cell, regional, and national delegates were elected. The final discussions were attended by 200 people, including members of the outgoing Central Committee, elected delegates, and special guests. The latter had a right to participate in the discussions, but not to vote.

Volodia Teitelboim explained that the PCCh does not control the Manuel Rodriguez Patriotic Front [FPMR] but praised this organization for its contribution to the struggle against the dictatorship.

He added that the FPMR is divided now, adding that even though I do not like to give advice or send messages, the FPMR should lend a hand to the electoral process because at this stage the two forms of struggle for democracy and power cannot be waged simultaneously.

Chilean Leftist Parties Issue Joint Communique

PY2005151589 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 19 May 89

[Joint communique issued by the Communist Party of Chile and the Socialist Party in Santiago, "in May"—read by announcer]

[Text] The political commissions of the PS [Socialist Party] and the PCCh [Communist Party of Chile] have noted that the undaunted struggle for the final defeat of the dictatorial regime and the recovery of popular sovereignty is the only way in which our aspirations for a new society—a socialist society—is expressed. Reiterating their unshakable commitment to the working class struggle—workers and people in general—for regaining a more dignified and humane life, for democracy, freedom and justice, the PS and the PCCh issued a joint declaration this week in Santiago, elaborating on the country's present political situation and on the strategic prospects for the United Left [IU].

The joint communique asserts their political will to strike wide-ranging and stronger agreements with the entire opposition. This, the communique says, can be seen in our willingness to agree on a common program, a single congressional list, and a single presidential candidate to run in the upcoming December general elections. This should go along with a demonstration before, during, and after the electoral event. This demonstration will decisively contribute to the final defeat of the dictatorship and of those who want to perpetuate the tutelage by the military and the transnational companies of Chilean society.

In the opinion of the left, the point is to resolutely take the initiative in the ideological and political struggle, and to join efforts with the broadest democratic sectors in order to regain democracy and resume the nation's social development.

Given its momentous importance, today on Radio Magallanes [as heard] we will air the full text of the document, dated in May and released in Santiago.

The joint deliberation of the PS and PCCh's political commissions points out:

1. The PS and PCCh address the people of Chile reiterating our unswerving commitment to the struggle of the working class—workers and people in general—for regaining a more dignified and humane life, for democracy, freedom, and justice. This inalienable commitment is the foundation of the socialist prospect for our historical project, and it stems from our struggle for democratic reconstruction in the past 15 years. In other words, it means the undaunted struggle for finally defeating the dictatorial regime and recovering the national and popular sovereignty, which is the only way to express our aspiration to a new society; that is, a socialist society.

2. In this way we are in line with a worldwide process, tending to bring about substantial changes in the life of peoples, leading to democratic, just, and humane formulas of coexistence in all corners of the world. The socialist ideal we have embraced can be realized through the democratic changes that the great majority of Chileans hoped for.

The communique points out that advancing in the struggle today, we will open the great avenues that will facilitate the authentic liberation of the Chilean people.

3. We have endeavored and will endeavor to promote the struggle and demonstrations to ensure that the transition to democracy be effective and real, not to be curtailed or trapped in the anti-democratic rules of the 1980 Constitution. Obtaining this objective will not be easy because the dictatorship; imperialism; the national and transnational capital that benefits by the current regime; and the Armed Forces, manipulated with the alien national security doctrine that views the people as enemies, will oppose, in every way they can, the democratic advance of the national and popular forces. The regime's recent maneuver of trying to impose constitutional reforms to suit its own purposes makes this quite clear. The objective was to force the democratic forces to legitimize the anti-democratic institutional order, the political prescription of the popular parties, the designated senators, the military tutelage over society, the permanence of Pinochet, the transformation of the armed forces into autonomous entities with the right to overule the sovereign will of the people, and the non-reformability of the present Constitution by giving the veto right to the minority. In sum, they attempted to institute norms to maintain the regime and to seriously curtail the people's sovereignty and the majority's right to govern society.

When faced with failure because of the opposition's firm rejection, the dictatorship resorts to its usual method of deceiving and attempting to divide to block democratic reforms and to maintain partial or total control of power.

4. These and other difficulties designed to make a real transition more difficult fortify our political will to consolidate the firmest possible agreement. This goal is demostrated by our will to run on a single platform, a single congressional ticket, and a single presidential candidate in the upcoming December election. It is not easy to carry out these patriotic goals. In order to consolidate the strongest possible front, we will promote

social demonstrations before, during, and after the elections to contribute to the final defeat of the dictatorship and of those who want to perpetuate the tutelate of the military, and the multinational companies, on Chilean society.

We propose to form a front of organized forces to successfully confront Pinochet's effort to remain in power by shortcutting the process of democratic transition.

The document further says that there are forces within the opposition that slow down a national democratic agreement such as the one we have proposed. Prejudices and stereotypes cloud the view of some people, preventing them from clearly seeing the objectives at stake.

We will continue to seek an agreement of all opposition sectors, without discriminations or exlusions. We will also continue to strengthen our participation in the mobilization of the social sectors we represent by promoting unity at the grassroots in order to solve the concrete problems of the various social groups, and to protect their inalienable interests and rights.

5. Our desire for unity responds to the Chilean people's wish and, sooner or later, our efforts will be recognized. The process must be closely linked to the development and strengthening of all people's organizations, and the mobilization of all social sectors.

We cannot accept a process of transition that places all the burdens of the effort to humanize a future democracy on the shoulders of the poorest and the destitute. A true solution to the national crisis should begin by solving the most urgent problem of the population: Their demand for a dignified life.

This is the first goal of all Chileans. A goal that those in power try to hide with the help of the government-controlled media.

6. We are convinced that the Chilean left will face great challenges in the near future. We propose to dedicate our best efforts to solve these challenges and to reach a higher level of unity which, after consolidating our organizations, will allow us to strengthen and rescue our pluralistic character, develop an alternative government program, and generate a common plan of strategic goals and tasks.

One of our main tasks is to reconstitute and strengthen the Chilean left's links with the mass movement. Our most important goal today is to recreate and develop the conscience and loyalty of thousands of humble and destitute workers who aspire to live in a democracy and to enjoy a new society. This goal will allow the left and the progressive sectors to reconstruct a historic and national, popular, and democratic force designed to defend, consolidate, and develop the people's interests and strength in a future democracy.

It is indispensable that we undergo a revolutionary renewal to attain these goals. The left must develop a deep understanding of the changes taking place in the world and in socialism. We must carry out an ideological review and renovate our militant structures so as to avoid sectarian mistakes or the manipulation of social organizations. Our movement should go deeper into the grassroots and the people to join their struggle for the defense of their rights and for a better life.

This effort should lead to the creation of a new popular organization that will make democracy possible, and will defend it against any threat of a coup attempting to recreate the dictatorial system.

Our permanent concern will be to demand truth and justice in cases of human rights violations and crimes committed during the last few years and to ensure full respect for these rights in a future democracy.

We are also historically committed to the struggle for women's rights and their full and true liberation; for youth's rights and their future; for the rights of the forgotten and trampled ethnic communities; for the Christian world and its popular and liberating faith; and for the preservation fo the environment, the atmosphere, and conditions that permit the perpetuation of the human species.

We want to immediately begin our struggle against environmental pollution and against the squandering and plundering of our natural mineral, forest, and agricultural resources.

We cannot sit idle while the transnationals fill their pockets with profits after plundering our natural resources and destroying the potential production of areas that could ensure the peace of present and future generations.

The PCCh-PS declaration further states that besides the above-mentioned objectives we have to outline the growth, development, and strengthening of the Broad Party of the Socialist Left, PAIS, which has recently incorporated a large number of militants from the most moderate leftist and independent leftist parties, promoting at the same time their modernization. The PAIS can have a role beyond the electoral campaign and become a valuable tool for the gathering, participation, and orientation of vast progressive sectors.

7. The interdependance of the main global problems has deep repercussions in Latin American capitalist countries. The development models tested up to the present in these countries are in crisis, and social conflicts have reached unprecedented levels.

Meanwhile, imperialism maintains its systematic aggression against Cuba, Nicaragua, and all countries that decide not to follow its dictates. The imperialist and reactionary forces have answered the challenge of social

unrest by disseminating—through U.S. military academies—the doctrine of national security to Latin American national armies. This doctrine has encouraged the Latin American armies to intervene directly in the political life of countries to install brutal dictatorships that have devastated nations, plundered national resources, and increased the crises. Today this doctrine is being abandoned because nations have realized the damage that doctrine has caused to their countries.

Today we realize that the only solutions to these problems lie in the capacity of the peoples themselves to confront their problems. Therefore, to face the crisis we have to encourage the consolidation of people's sovereignty, the strengthening of their social organizations, and the development of the political forces that represent them in the new context of Latin American integration. This development will encourage the creation of new models to confront the causes of the crises.

Furthermore, we have to confront the selfish desire of capitalists for more profits with our superior vision of social development. We understand that the struggle against ignorance, backwardness, and underdevelopment, that is, the struggle of the working class, is in the interest of nations as a whole. In sum, the left has to take the initiative in the ideological and political struggle and join efforts with the vast democratic sectors to consolidate democracy and attain social and national development.

With a creative spirit, and on the offensive, we will revitalize the roots, the bases supporting the social structure, and the forces radiating our socialist project. This is the only path capable of making possible the liberation of modern man.

This is the full text of the declaration issued by the political commissions of the PCCh and the Chilean Socialist Party in May of this year.

Political & Social

Congress of People's Deputies Opens 25 May

LD2505060989 Moscow TASS in English 0603 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The Congress of People's Deputies opened in the Kremlin today. More than two thousand deputies are taking part in the work of the new supreme body of power in the Soviet Union.

Orlov Opens Congress

LD2505073689 Moscow TASS in English 0718 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—A congress of the USSR People's Deputies opened in the Kremlin today. The new body of supreme authority in the country is to form a permanently functioning parliament (Supreme Soviet) and to elect and appoint a number of top officials.

When declaring the congress open, Valdimir Orlov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, voiced confidence that the forum would justify the people's aspirations and their belief in a better life and in a prosperous and strong Soviet socialist state.

Speaking of the political results of the elections of USSR people's deputies, Orlov pointed out that they were held in conditions of unprecedentedly wide openness and frankness and the rapid growth of the working people's political activity. The elections have shown that perestroyka has become the concern of the whole people. Soviet people declared their support for the further intensification of the restructuring process and more rapid changes for the better in all spheres of life. Through their novelty and high degree of interest of the masses, the elections supplemented and enriched the image of perestroyka and became a step of fundamental importance in the development of democracy, and advanced Soviet society along the road mapped out by the 24th Congress and the 19th All-Union Conference of the CPSU.

The elections have reaffirmed, Orlov emphasised, that the people regard the Leninist party as a force capable of uniting Soviet society, ensuring its consolidation and finding effective ways to resolve urgent problems and to overcome difficulties.

A unanimously elected Presidium of the USSR People's Deputies includes Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Anatoliy Lukyanov, alternate member of the Politburo and first vice-president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Vladimir Orlov, chairman of the Central Commission for the Election of the USSR People's Deputies as well as one representative from each union republic.

A debate on an agenda of the congress followed.

Deputies Assess Morning Session

LD2505124789 Moscow TASS in English 1231 GMT 25 May 89

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—During the recess following the first session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies today, Soviet and foreign journalists accredited at the congress questioned deputies emerging from the auditorium.

The reporters took interest in literally everything: deputies' evaluations of the first two hours of the proceedings, their personal attitudes to this or that issue of home and foreign policy of the Soviet Union, and explanations concerning the speeches.

The main task of the congress, maintains Ales Adamovich, a prominent Belorussian writer, is not to disappoint the people.

"The first two hours of the work of the congress show that it is being held in a democratic manner, although many things are new to the deputies," he told TASS.

Boris Yeltsin attracted the most attention during the first recess. "I think the process is developing democratically, although there is some pressure from the apparatus," he told reporters.

It seemed to some deputies that the discussion of procedural matters was artificially dragged out. During the session the presidium received a message from a group of deputies from the Chuvash Autonomous Republic in the Russian Federation who remarked that time should be used more sparingly.

This is what Genrikh Borovik, chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee, told TASS: "The discussion of procedural maters is important, of course. However, if we become carried away by the procedure, the people will censure us because it is necessary to move on to essential matters as soon as possible".

For the first time in Soviet history one can see people in church attire among the deputies of the supreme legislative body of the USSR.

"This is a convincing sign of perestroika," metropolitan Aleksey of Leningrad and Novgorod, told TASS. He expressed support for the current principle of the separation of the church and state.

But the clergy and believers have never been separated from our society. Therefore it is only natural that religious figures were elected USSR people's deputies. Personally, I shall uphold at the congress a solution to matters aimed at making society healthier from the ethical and moral point of view. Much depends on that," he said.

Gorbachev Nominated President

LD2505152689 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 25 May 89

[By TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev described the course of debate at the Congress of People's Deputies as the most convincing evidence that perestroyka is forging ahead. Speaking today as he was nominated president of the USSR Supreme Soviet, he assured the new Soviet legislature that he is committed to perestroyka and the policy of updating Soviet society along the lines of democracy, glasnost and respect for man.

Gorbachev stressed that he is committed to this policy and won't be able to pursue any other. He added that bureaucratic attitudes, divorce from the people and isolation are alien to him and that he favours dialogue in the country, dialogue in the party, dialogue with all sections of society and all mass movements, even difficult ones that forget about Soviet values and popular gains.

Deputies' Afternoon Session Opens

LD2505153489 Moscow Tass in English 1512 GMT 25 May 89

[TASS parliamentary correspondent's report from the Kremlin]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS— The second meeting of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies which opened in Moscow today started with a report delivered by chairman of the Credentials Committee Boris Gidaspov. He said the Credential Committee has not established violations of law that would call in question results of the elections. The committee proposed that the powers of all the 2,249 USSR people's deputies elected in democratic election be found valid. Only one election district of the country has not elected a deputy to the supreme body of state authority.

Gidaspov said that there are people of 65 nationalities among people's deputies. For 88 per cent of all the people's deputies, this is their first participation in the supreme representative body of state authority. As many as 1,957 deputies, or 87 per cent of all the deputies, are members and candidate members of the Soviet Communist Party.

The congress reflects quite fully the social and professional structure of Soviet society. 557 deputies, or 24.8 per cent, are workers in the industry, construction, transport and communications. 425 deputies, or 18.9 per cent, are workers in agriculture. 532 deputies, or 23.7 per cent are rank-and-file workers and collective farmers. 616 deputies, or 27.4 per cent, are representatives of the scientific and creative intelligentsia.

1,806 people among the deputies are aged from 30 to 60. As many as 187 deputies are under thirty. There are 352 women among the delegates to the congress. 1,702 deputies have higher or incomplete higher education. Every fifth of them has a scientific degree or a scientific title. As many as 528 deputies are people with general secondary or special secondary education. 152 deputies are heads of industrial amalgamations and enterprises. 192 deputies are heads of collective and state farms and agri-industrial enterprises. 316 deputies are workers in science, workers of the higher school and education. 96 deputies work in the health services. 146 deputies are workers in the arts. 58 deputies work in the mass media. 237 deputies are party functionaries—secretaries of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and the Central Committees of the communist parties of union republics, secretaries of territorial, regional, city, district and primary party organisations. 80 people represent the Soviet Armed Forces. For the first time, seven religious leaders were elected to the supreme body of state authority. Every second deputy has experience of work in soviets of people's deputies.

Gidaspov noted that the electoral commissions at every level on the whole ensured the holding of elections in accordance with the Law on Elections. The Credentials Committee has not found violations of the law. At the same time, it noted that many citizens voiced dissatisfaction with the functioning of electorial commissions, the procedure for the nomination of candidates, as well as the holding of district election meetings. The Credentials Committee is of the opinion that the existing drawbacks in the preparation and holding of elections stem in a certain measure from the imperfection of some norms of the Law on Elections.

A number of deputies expressed disagreement with the results of the election campaign. Some of the protests resulted from insufficient knowledge of legislation, while others required additional checks. Thus the congress instructed the Credentials Committee to check the assertion of one of the Latvian deputies who holds that incorrect forming of election districts in Latvia artificially widened representation of the popular front in the deputies corps.

By the absolute majority of votes the congress found the credentials of all the 2,249 deputies valid.

Minute of Silence Observed for Tbilisi

LD2505083789 Moscow World Service in English 0746 GMT 25 May 89

["Closing comments" by presenters Karl Yegorov and Nikolay Kornikov on the opening session of the Congress of USSR People's Deputies; from the World Service English relay of the session from the Kremlin Palace of Congresses—live]

[Text] [Kornikov] We've been watching this session, this first session of the People's Congress of the USSR, for 1 hour and 46 minutes now, and there's been a lot of talk

and procedural matters. This is very interesting, because as we mentioned with Yuriy Reshetnikov just a few minutes ago, the deputies are apparently chewing away little by little at all the accepted standards. They want to change the procedure here; they want to have—the problem right now is to have every deputy when he votes for his electorate to know exactly how he voted, and that places a great responsibility now on the shoulders of the deputies. Karl, what would you say about the session so far?

[Yegorov] Well, I would say I agree with you and what Yuriy has said. They are trying to find, I think, a common denominator, because this really is the first time that the people have this opportunity to speak out. I was flabbergasted by the first deputy; even before they began the session somebody came out and asked for the people to stand in a minute of silence in memory of those who were killed in Tbilisi; that is something unheard of, and I really would say that this is a democratic forum.

Naturally there are many points. There are 10 points on the agenda. There will be discussions on all of them. The two main reports made by the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the prime minister will expound their views, and—well, we, to the best of our ability, will provide information to all our listeners around the world in coverage of this the inaugural session of the People's, the Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

[Kornikov] Karl, I think that one of the most important points made at the congress—at the very beginning, as everybody noticed—there are not many going unnoticed—one deputy got up and said he wants the names of the people who ordered the Army or whoever it was who went against the people in Tbilisi and the name of the gas that was used there also. Apparently that's going to come up again; we all hope it does, because that's one of the questions that still remains unresolved.

Congress Called 'Landmark' in Socialist Democracy

LD2505122589 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 25 May 89

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow May 25 TASS—The Congress of USSR People's Deputies, which opened in Moscow today, is being viewed in the Soviet Union as a landmark in the development of socialist democracy.

In summer last year the 19th all-union conference of the Soviet Communist Party had taken a major decision: to reform the entire Soviet political system. The decision is now being implemented.

On this historic day it is worthwhile recalling why the party had raised the question of a radical reform of the political system.

At a certain stage the system which had come into being as a result of the triumph of the October revolution underwent serious deformation. An increasing concentratin of economic managerial functions in the hands of the party and political leadership became a characteristic feature. A deformed image of socialist democracy developed, with an actual exercise of power being identified first of all with executive bodies, and not with the energetic political activity of the working people.

It was the congealed system of power and its command-and-pressure set-up that prompted the basic themes of perestroyka—both economic reform, the development of the socio-cultural sphere, and the cultivation of an interested proprietorial attitude in people to everything happening in the country.

Perestroyka raised the question of the political rights of the individual. The command-and-administer methods of leadership and the associated limitations on democracy had a particularly painful effect on the exercise of these rights. All that hindered and complicated the process of overcoming people's alienation from the government, from politics.

While raising the question of a cardinal reform of the political system, the party emphasises: It is essential to have a clear idea of what has stood and what has failed to stand the test of time.

The goal of the reform is to adjust the mechanism of the free formation and identification of the interests and will of all classes and social groups and to coordinate and implement them in the home and foreign policy of the state.

New state power bodies—the Congress of People's Deputies and a permanently functioning Supreme Soviet of the USSR to be elected by them—must become the mechanism for such coordination of interests.

Yeltsin Says Congress 'Sufficiently Democratic'

LD2505124389 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT 25 May 89

[Interview with people's deputy Boris Yeltsin by political observer Aleksandr Tikhomirov at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses following the USSR Congress of People's Deputies morning session; From the "all power to the soviets" program, presented by Igor Fesunenko—live or recorded]

[Text] [Video shows Yeltsin and Tikhomirov in the middle of a crowd of people]

[Tikhomirov] Do you consider the conduct of the first session to be sufficiently democratic?

[Yeltsin] Well, I would say that there is, for all that, some kind of pressure. For example, I think that it would be quite normal for the chairman of the Central Electoral

Commission to conduct the first session these 2 hours, in accordance with the constitution, so that no one has any suspicions, so to speak, or even any views in this respect. And that would be all.

[Tikhomirov] It is no coincidence that Mikhail Sergeyevich began this congress. He said that I have to, so to speak, steer this ship. The ship should be run by a good captain, and not by a cadet, let's say, not by a navigator.

[Yeltsin] I have in mind, I mean, he had in mind the ship of this country through its transformations.

[Tikhomirov] And the congress as well.

[Yeltsin] He will not be conducting the whole congress.

[Tikhomirov] Well, all right. You think that this was all conducted in an insufficiently democratic manner.

[Yeltsin] It is not that it was not sufficiently democratic. I have in mind—this means I keep to my view with regard to the agenda. This means that which was proposed by the Moscow group should be discussed more, because there are many supporters, precisely of that agenda, and in other areas. The debates were discontinued. But, nevertheless, the rights of the minority—certain rights—should also be observed, as it were.

Congress' Priority Task To Ensure Democratization

PM2405132589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The People's Trust"]

[Text] The USSR Congress of People's Deputies opens tomorrow. There have been many different congresses in our lifetime, but probably only the first congresses of the soviets, in which V.I. Lenin participated, are comparable to this forum in terms of their effect in shaping our destiny. Today we are living at a no less important and crucial historical moment. And we are not just living now. We are all involved in this moment.

How impetuous our times are! It is less than 1 year since the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference adopted the policy of political reform, but the very complex stages of the ascent toward democracy have already been tested and gone through in practice, and the deputies of the congress of soviets [as published] have already been elected and are ready to act. Essentially for the first time in many years the people have taken advantage of the freedom of contested elections, and in this common civic labor we have been imbued with a sense of involvement in the state's affairs.

The election campaign revealed the maturity of our understanding of the problems of the country's development, a thirst for democratic renewal, and profoundly sincere support for the ideas of the restructuring begun by the party. It is also true that we had occasion more than once to see for ourselves how heavy and tenacious is the burden of old ideas, how hard it is to learn the skills of democracy, and how naive our attempts to resolve all questions of life at a single stroke sometimes are. But it must not be forgotten that we are only at the beginning of a new path, that restructuring is revolutionary in its essence, and, thus, that any difficulties in it can and will be overcome by the living creativity of the masses.

The decisive majority of USSR people's deputies elected during the first stage of the political reform are members of the CPSU. Thereby the people made their choice, expressed binding trust in the party, and gave it, you might say, a public mandate to continue and deepen the transformations that have been begun and to consolidate all the country's progressive forces in the name of restructuring. The CPSU Central Committee May Plenum was held on the eve of the congress. Questions connected with the organization of its work were examined, and there was also discussion of the responsibility which communist deputies bear for the businesslike and constructive nature of the upcoming debate.

A splendid representation of the people will gather tomorrow beneath the vaults of the Kremlin hall. The merit of the present corps of deputies consists in its political and intellectual potential, in the diversity of the interests represented, and in solid, firsthand experience of waging the struggle for restructuring and for socialism's new aspect. Elected representatives from all the union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs will be at the congress, representing the dozens of nations and ethnic groups. Each of the people's deputies has received many voters' mandates, but I believe that the people's chief mandate to the whole congress is expressed in hopes and aspirations for a radical and speedy improvement in our whole life. The deputies have a great deal to do to achieve this.

The congress has been granted lofty powers, and no organ in the state has loftier powers. The shaping of the country's legislative and executive power is in the very near future going to help the soviets to acquire genuine sovereignty and help create a constructive, mobile mechanism for exercising authority at all levels.

The first congress is meeting at a complex time for the country. But, however ambivalent and, in some places, contradictory views on the present stage in our life may be, we must not stop half way. This is why one of the priority tasks of the deputies' forum is to ensure sound guarantees for the processes of democratization, glasnost, political openness, and pluralism of opinions. Our young democracy—let us put it like this—needs a reliable legislative basis. The extent to which our ideas on rights and freedoms tally with a clear understanding of responsibility and civic duty will largely depend on this. Restructuring, like any revolutionary action, must be

defended not only by force of persuasion but also by force of law. This is why the shaping of a rule-of-law state is at the center of the congress' attention.

Even concerns about state-legal building and about deepening sociopolitical processes will surely not push into the background vital, really urgent problems on whose resolution the everyday life of millions upon millions of people depends. We have all seen for ourselves over the years of restructuring what intractable and truly colossal tasks face our society. People's living standards are not improving the way we originally perceived them. The editors' mail contains letters voicing no longer-concealed indignation at the disappearance of many goods from the trade system. The current radical economic reform is not yet producing the proper results, and the population's income is growing far faster than the supply of goods and services for sale. It is clear to everyone that, as long as store shelves remain empty, people will not feel greater optimism and confidence. Precisely in the agrarian sector of the economy it is possible and necessary to achieve rapid results, which will strengthen faith in restructuring.

In first place among the specific social goals of restructuring is the task of providing housing—a separate apartment for every family. The plans have been outlined, and the work is gathering momentum, but, to judge from readers' letters, hiccups and lags are already being felt. It is no coincidence that the voters' mandates include many connected with housing and cultural-domestic construction.

You cannot enumerate all the problems of our life—not that it is the purpose of the congress to embrace all problems at once. The deputies have gathered in the Kremlin for a most important thing—to return to Soviet power the character of genuine people's power.

Our representatives are endowed with the trust of the highest order—the people's trust. It is both an honor and an immeasurable responsibility to take on the duty of representation on the country's supreme organ. So a word at the congress is our word too. It should not be forgotten in polemics and debates that the voters' interests are supreme. The people have trust, but they are also strict and direct in their exactingness.

Spring is a time for changes, a time for renewal... The country is looking closely at its future. What will it be like, what will it bring to us, to our children and grandchildren? The image of the future will in many ways be outlined at this congress.

We wish you inspired work, Comrade People's Deputies!

Latvia's Kezbers on Upcoming Deputies Congress

LD2305170289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] There is great interest in the republic in the Congress of USSR People's Deputies opening the day after tomorrow. The delegation of the Latvian deputies has arrived in Moscow and among them is Ivar Yanovich Kezbers, secretary of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. This is what he told our correspondent:

[Begin recording] [Kezbers] I am in a very good mood. On the morning of the 25th we will all gather together. This is a new height in Soviet democracy. Our republic has never been represented in Moscow by such quality. There are eminent party and state figures here. I particularly like our lawyers who put a lot of work in last autumn, you know, when we were arguing a lot about the Law on Elections and amendments to the Constitution. We know we are beginning new work and even today the time limit [regiment] is not known. It may even change. There are about 50 draft laws next in line, as well as a number of decrees that are immature, I would say, and in my view simply have to be reviewed.

[Correspondent] Before the beginning of the Congress of People's Deputies we know that there is a broad program. What events will our representatives being taking part in?

[Kezbers] The absolute majority will be taking part in tbne meeting of the Communist deputies. I know that the deputies from the Baltic republics also intend to get together more than once.

[Correspondent] Now, this group of deputies has adopted resolutions and documents, also at the assembly of the Baltic republics. Tell me, are you going to Moscow to acquaint other deputies or other regions with these documents?

[Kezbers] Yes, probably every delegation has some home cooking. It seems to me personally to be very important at the beginning of the congress not to appear to be unprepared. That is, one must not travel to Moscow with some sort of demands in order to slam the door. This will have an effect on the whole further progress of the congress and the Supreme Soviet session. Therefore, it seems to me that it is very important to consult and seek advice in advance. Most of the Baltic deputies are apparently (?not) unanimous on many basic issues. [end recording]

Gorbachev Chairs Deputies' Representatives Meeting

LD2405155389 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1528 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (TASS)—Today a meeting of the representatives of the groups of USSR people's deputies took place at the Kremlin, chaired by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. This working body of the USSR people's deputies was formed to do a preliminary examination of questions to be decided at the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. The nomination of representatives for membership to the meeting was done during the

period of preparations for the congress in the union republics at the conferences of deputies living and working in the respective republics.

At the meeting questions were examined concerning the agenda and order of work at the congress, proposals for the composition of the USSR Supreme Soviet regarding the nominations for higher officials to be elected or confirmed at the congress, and other questions connected with the organization of the congress' meeting.

Deputy Recalls Yeltsin's Remarks at Plenum Meeting
LD2405133289 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 23 May 89

[Telephone interview from Moscow with Vladimiras Beriozovas, second secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee and USSR People's Deputy, by Benas Rupeika, Vilnius Radio political commentator—recorded]

[Text] [Rupeika] [Words indistinct].

[Beriozovas] All the Central Committee members who spoke at the plenum spoke very briefly, only some minutes each.

[Rupeika] Was there anyone who opposed Gorbachev's candidature to the post of presidium chairman?

[Beriozovas] Nobody was against Gorbachev's candidature. Everyone spoke for it and supported it, saying quite explicitly that at present they did not see any alternative candidate who could be nominated for this post.

[Rupeika] But what about Yeltsin's statements? Were they the same?

[Beriozovas] Yelstin made only one statement, saying that there should be an alternative candidate, although he personally did not come out against Mikhail Gorbachev and he did not nominate any concrete alternative candidate.

[Rupeika] He perhaps [?mentioned] this [word indistinct] phrase: You are wrong, Boris!" [preceding four words in Russian], which was pronounced at the 19th party conference.

[Beriozovas] We, the participants of the plenum understood, although it was not worded like that, not in an open text. This thought occurred to me, too, and then later I heard that a massive meeting was held in the Luzhniki, organized by the club of Moscow deputies. I understood from his vague statement that he regarded himself as one of the viable candidates for this post [words indistinct] his coming out with a statement that there should be an alternative candidate, and at the same time failing to nominate anyone in particular, because there was a very good opportunity that he could be [word indistinct].

Bitter reproaches were voiced by the speakers directed at the general secretary and at the government. Comrade Brazauskas, supporting Mikhail Gorbachev's candidature in his speech, voiced a rather sharp criticism, directed at the government, because it failed to take resolute steps to put the economy in order. Therefore, he said, we were compelled to [words indistinct] at the session of the Supreme Soviet [word indistinct]. There are many problems which should be solved.

[Rupeika] Perhaps some sort of assessment was given at the plenum to the documents and decisions adopted at the Lithuanian and Estonian Supreme Soviets?

[Beriozovas] No. [Words indistinct] No reproaches were voiced at us. Gorbachev mentioned that in some places there is too much hurry. [Words indistinct] But this was said in a rather abstract way, so it is not know who it was directed at.

[Rupeika] Concluding our talk, it is not all quiet in Moscow, is it?

[Beriozovas] Well, in general, it is not all quiet in Moscow. This can be felt from the speeches that were made, and from the criticism directed at the Moscow City Party Committee. But we, the Baltic people's deputies, will come together at the embassy today.

Deputies Interviewed on Elections, Congress
PM2405111389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with new USSR People's Deputies K. Lubenchenko and A. Kenenov by correspondent V. Shchepotkin: "Looking Back and Looking Ahead: Interview on the Eve of the Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] The long and intensive election campaign is drawing to a close. Ahead is the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. How do the elections and the Congress itself appear to the deputy and the voters today? Your IZVESTIYA correspondent discussed this with Candidate of Juridical Sciences and USSR People's Deputy K. Lubenchenko and Candidate of Juridical Sciences A. Kenenov.

[Correspondent] So it may be said that the election campaign is over. Passions are dying down in the last few campaign areas. Thus it probably makes sense to carry out a kind of overview. What are your impressions, Konstantin Dmitriyevich?

[Lubenchenko] I would highlight three aspects. There is, of course, the increase in people's activeness and consciousness. The people have begun to think. And to think deeply, furthermore, analyzing the facts and demanding sustenance not in the form of slogans and editorial articles but of very serious economic and political proposals.

The second aspect is the voters' active support for their candidates, which was unusual and, I think, had never been seen before in our country. Unusual altruism, one might even say self-sacrifice, was what characterized this campaign. The third aspect was the pitch of the emotional mood. Largely it was positive. The realization that people really can actively support their candidate and can triumph in an honest struggle, and also the conduct of many candidates who themselves kept within the limits of those emotions, created a generally positive mood even despite the dramatic situations. And it was noticeably different from the situation which appeared afterward. A situation which I would describe as painful and drastic in some places.

[Correspondent] Do you mean the present stage?

[Lubenchenko] Yes, the present stage. Why do I think that is so? Because a very great deal of energy has been expended: physical and nervous energy on the part of both the candidates and the voters.

[Kenenov] I agree; indeed, after the first round a certain decline in activeness, a definite lethargy were perceptible. And probably, when elaborating the procedure of the electoral system, the legislators had to bear in mind the possibility of making maximum use of political activeness for a certain period of time. The experience of the campaign showed that by the second and third rounds some voters were growing weary and had to be prompted and encouraged in some way again. But how? By means of new programs, new promises? With the result that negative emotions were inadvertently aroused, and some candidates at times used not very proper methods and means to win extra votes.

[Lubenchenko] Yes, and some groups of voters took advantage of this situation to whip up unnecessary tension, I would even say political hysteria. On one occasion in the "Strela" movie house we—two deputies—spoke on environmental problems, moral problems, and so forth. A voter addressed me from the hall: "We don't see any signs of your activeness." I asked her: "What form should it take?" "We do not see in you the ability to lead us to Red Square." Do you understand?

[Correspondent] Perhaps a quick temper in the candidate and restraint in the deputy are quite logical?

[Lubenchenko] I have to say that formerly I was not prey to such feelings. It sickened me, for example, to get extra votes from my electors simply because I took some abrupt step. Of course, criticism is necessarily a negation of something, but it is not the same as demolishing everything for any reason at all! The desire to "lead" people along by means of exaggerated fervor or the kind of harsh condemnation about which they say that a person "will sacrifice anyone for the sake of a fine phrase"—that desire is not among the best.

Of course, I do not want to flatter leading party and government figures or shield them from criticism, but I think that a certain measure not just of sobriety but also of intellectual honesty does exist. And political responsibility, too. Therefore the calls for purges of some kind, for example, are surely irresponsible. I do not know who can lay claim to absolute purity or set the standard for carrying out total purges. There must be no mass certification to determine who are the supporters of restructuring and who are its enemies.

[Correspondent] But on the other hand we can all see that there are those who, to use the conventional terminology, could be called ultraleft and those who favor "no change."

[Lubenchenko] But when we see this, should we intensify the polarization, intensify the clashes causing the spark which begins a virtual civil war? Or should we rather seek dialogue or, if we do seek struggle, make it a struggle by political and lawful means? Within the framework of the civil law!

[Kenenov] Generally speaking, the election campaign showed that we have gained a more accurate knowledge of our society. We really can see more clearly and graphically now how it is organized and what a diversity of political sympathies, antipathies, tastes, guidelines, and values and so on does exist. In that respect I agree with Konstantin Dmitriyevich that we cannot carry out such a certification, pin labels on certain groups, brand them, or categorize them politically.

[Lubenchenko] We have already encountered this problem as deputies. It is clear that the Law on Elections is imperfect. It is clear that questions connected with the representation of social organizations arouse different types of response, including negative ones. But does that mean that I can come to the Congress, for example, and say that the deputies from social organizations are less worthy people than deputies from the territorial okrugs? The result is simply a struggle and the setting of certain groups of deputies against others. Is that really acceptable? We see a host of different and very universal positions common to us all which literally all deputies support. But if we start to polarize on trivial matters we may immediately compromise any idea, any good, fine, or democratic idea which the majority of deputies will support. I remember how at our meeting one deputy who heard this immediately got up and left. That deputy was from a social organization and was a very good and honest man. Therefore, we must presume first and foremost that the elected deputies are the people's elected representatives and that they all equally personify the people's trust and expectation. On no account must we level any complaints against one another in this regard. That is an infantile disorder of leftism—a fine phrase, in my opinion.

[Correspondent] We have approached the theme of the Congress, a theme which concerns many people now, and we already know that everyone is tensely anticipating what the congress will tackle and how it will set about it. Once more there may be two views: the deputy's view and our view, Anatoliy Akashevich—the voters' view. Konstantin Dmitriyevich, what do you expect from the Congress? First and foremost consolidation, if I understood it correctly?

[Lubenchenko] I agree with the word that you used—consolidation—but on a very important condition. Consolidation within the framework of pluralism, within the framework of a sober and honest exchange of opinions, bearing in mind the fact that there must be no mentors at the congress. There must be a discussion: a sober, balanced discussion, a critical dialogue among people who are not trying to score points off one another. Then the word consolidation will suffice unconditionally, because the voter does not expect us to indulge in wholesale criticism of one another or the endless presentation of complaints and questions. The voter is expecting from us what we can realistically do at the Congress, that is, that we take realistic steps.

[Correspondent] Anatoliy Akashevich, from the voter's viewpoint what do you expect from the Congress, how do you see it, and in general what problems should it resolve?

[Kenenov] As a voter I should like to believe that this Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the Supreme Soviet will be truly democratic organs, or, in any event, something approaching that quality. That's the first point. The second is that the Congress and the Supreme Soviet will be organs which will be able to adopt high-quality legislation, be it in the sphere of finance, the economy, or the social and cultural spheres. Laws which must be enacted! We can cite a host of examples of laws which were adopted, but not a word of them was enacted.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, judging from the information that we are receiving, the voters' mandate is to create the kind of body whose decisions are absolutely binding on everyone—from the ordinary citizen to the citizen who is also a state leader—as decisions of the supreme authority.

[Kenenov] You have it! That, in my view, is the first thing expected by everyone: pensioners, workers, teachers, doctors, and the military. Whether we are talking about nationalities problems, pensions, wages—whatever—real laws must be adopted on everything; maybe not immediately, but in time. That is what I expect.

[Lubenchenko] Anatoliy Akashevich, I would add the word competent here. We have grown tired of incompetence.

[Kenenov] Well, when I speak about the quality of a law, competence is taken for granted.

[Lubenchenko] I liked your idea about the strength of the Soviet. You said that the Soviet will only be strong and effective when each of its deputies is strong in a legal sense. So I come back to what has already been said on a number of occasions at our meetings at the Moscow City Soviet and the Moscow deputies' club: There must be a status of USSR People's Deputy. The existing status is designed for representative organs of power but not active ones. I am convinced of that. Furthermore, it does not contain a whole series of new constitutional structures. Finally, the existing status embraces deputies of all levels: from the rural soviet to the Supreme Soviet. Yet they do not only have things in common.

[Correspondent] It is within the Soviet's competence to resolve that. And it is almost upon us now.

[Lubenchenko] Yes, it is. Bringing with it a great responsibility. This is the first time that an event of this nature will be relayed on television and radio. We mentioned that on numerous occasions at our deputies' meetings, and a decision has been taken on live transmission. That means that all our work, all our actions will be under the scrutiny of the voters; people will see who is concerned about the people's problems and who is concerned about the talk surrounding them. And there are many problems. It is possible to resolve at least some of them if it is done on a platform of consolidation.

Deputies Elected in 18-21 May Runoffs Listed

PM2405191789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed "List of USSR People's Deputies Elected at the 18, 19, 20, and 21 May 1989 Runoffs in Territorial and National-Territorial Electoral Okrugs"]

[Text] Avtorkhanov, Supyan Evterbiyevich, chairman of Nozhay-Yurtovskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee [rayispolkom] Rayon Planning Commission, CPSU member, Nozhay-Yurt village. From Nozhay-Yurtovskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 676, Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR].

Aksenov, Vyacheslav Ivanovich, team leader of the "Nizhneangarsktransstroy" Trust's No 608 construction and installation train, CPSU member, Kichera settlement, Severo-Baykalskiy Rayon. From Barguzinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 518, Buryat ASSR.

Alekseyev, Boris Grigoryevich, chairman of Nizhne-Ilimskiy Rayispolkom, CPSU member, Zheleznogorsk-Ilimskiy City. From Ust-Kutskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 175, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR].

Angarkhayev, Ardan Lopsonovich, writer, artistic director of the theater workshop in the Khuzhir House of Culture, Tunkinskiy Rayon, Kyren village, Tunkinskiy Rayon. From Dzhidinskiy National-Territorial Okruk No 520, Buryat ASSR.

Bezbakh, Yakov Yakovlevich, team leader at the Nizhnedneprovskiy K. Liebknecht Pipe-Rolling Plant open-hearth shop basic production section, CPSU member, Dnepropetrovsk City. From Industrialnyy Territorial Okrug No 423, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Belogolov, Aleksandr Konstantinovich, director of Shelopuginskiy Rayon's "Mironovskiy" State Farm [sovkhoz], CPSU member, Mironovo village, Shelopuginskiy Rayon, Chita Oblast. From Shilkinskiy Territorial Okrug No 344, RSFSR.

Belozertsev, Sergey Vladimirovich, senior lecturer at Karelia State University, CPSU member, Petrozavodsk City. From Kalininskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 570, Karelian ASSR.

Belous, Nikolay Petrovich, gas-arc welder with the "Strezhevoyneft" Administration named for the 50th anniversary of the USSR, CPSU member, Strezhevoy City. From Kolpashevskiy Territorial Okrug No 314, RSFSR.

Berko, Mikhail Dmitriyevich, chairman of Drogobychskiy Rayon's "Pershe Travnya" Collective Farm [kolkhoz], CPSU member, Rykhtychi village, Drogobychskiy Rayon. From Drogobychskiy Territorial Okrug No 488, Ukrainian SSR.

Bekh, Nikolay Ivanovich, general director of the Kama Heavy Truck Production Association, CPSU member, Naberezhnyye Chelny City. From Tukayevskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 642, Tatar ASSR.

Blokhin, Yuriy Vitalyevich, deputy director of the Moldavian SSR State Planning Committee Scientific Resrach Institute for Planning, CPSU member, Kishinev City. From Kishinevskiy-Oktyabrskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 259, Moldavian SSR.

Bogdanov, Radik Garifullovich, chief physician at Ufa City No 21 Clinical Hospital, CPSU member, Ufa City. From Sovetskiy Territorial Okrug No 352, Bashkir ASSR.

Borisov, Andrey Savvich, producer at the Yakutsk Oyunskiy Drama Theater, CPSU member, Yakutsk City. From Vilyuyskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 695, Yakutsk ASSR.

Brovkin, Valentin Mikhaylovich, chief of the No 2 paper production unit at "Syktyvkarskiy Lesopromyshlennyy Kompleks" Production Association named for the Lenin Komsomol, CPSU member, Syktyvkar City. From Ezhvinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 581, Komi ASSR.

Buburuz, Petr Dmitriyevich, senior priest at the Trinity Cathedral in Kishinev City, Kishinev City. From Kishinevskiy-Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 695, Moldavian SSR.

Vasilyev, Boris Gennadyevich, general director of "Kostromaenergo" Association, CPSU member, Kostroma City. From Kostromskiy Territorial Okrug No 202, RSFSR.

Vasko, Nikolay Petrovich, director of Beskaragayskiy Rayon's "Semenovskiy" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Semenovka village, Beskaragayskiy Rayon, Semipalatinsk Oblast. From Semipalatinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 152, Kazakh SSR.

Vdovkin, Nikolay Ivanovich, chief veterinary physician on the Udmurt ASSR Kiyasovskiy Rayon's Lenin Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Podgornoye village, Kiyasovskiy rayon. From Sarapulskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 666, Udmurt ASSR.

Viznyuk, Vasiliy Petrovich, excavator operator with the "Chernovitsstroy" Trust Mechanization Administration, CPSU member, Chernovtsy City. From Chernovitskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 64, Ukrainian SSR.

Viktorovich, Anton Alekseyevich, assistant foreman at the Baranovichi cotton production association, Baranovichi City. From Baranovichskiy Territorial Okrug No 548, Belorussian SSR.

Vlasov, Yuriy Petrovich, writer, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Lyublinskiy Territorial Okrug No 15, RSFSR.

Voronezhtsev, Yuriy Ivanovich, senior scientific associate of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the Mechanics of Metal Polymer Systems, CPSU member, Gomel City. From Gomelskiy City Territorial Okrug No 555, Belorussian SSR.

Gayda, Mikhail Mikhaylovich, captain, aircraft technician at the Chernigov Military Pilots School Aviation Training regiment, CPSU member, Uman City. From Umanskiy Territorial Okrug No 539, Ukrainian SSR.

Gams, Eduard Sergeyevich, captain, junior scientific associate of a scientific research institute, CPSU member, Shikhany Urban Settlement, Srataov Oblast. From Balakovskiy Territorial Okrug No 286, RSFSR.

Gninenko, Yuriy Ivanovich, laboratory chief at the Kazakh Scientific Research Institute for Forestry, CPSU member, Shchuchinsk City. From Shchuchinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 159, Kazakh SSR.

Goncharov, Viktor Vasilyevich, first secretary of Yenakiyevo Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] city committee [gorkom], CPSU member, Yenakiyevo City. From Yenakiyevskiy Territorial Okrug No 437, Ukrainian SSR.

Gorokhov, Vladislav Andreyevich, director of "Losinyy Ostrov" State National Nature Park, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Mytishchinskiy Territorial Okrug No 35, RSFSR.

Grigoryev, Vladimir Viktorovich, director of Shumerlinskiy Rayon's "Kombinat" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Shumerlya City. From Tsivilskiy Territorial Okrug No 401, Chuvash ASSR.

Grigoryev, Firs Grigoryevich, chief physician at Kanashskiy Rayon Central Hospital, CPSU member, Shikhazany village, Kanashskiy Rayon, Chuvash ASSR. From Kazanskiy National-Territorial okrug No 11, RSFSR.

Grishchuk, Valeriy Pavlovich, senior lecturer at Kiev State University named for T.G. Shevchenko, CPSU member, Kiev City. From Dneprovskiy Territorial Okrug No 465, Ukrainian SSR.

Demidov, Mikhail Vasilyevich, first secretary of Kalevalskiy Rayon CPSU Committee [raykom], CPSU member, Kalevala Settlement. From Kemskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 573, Karelian ASSR.

Dobrotolyubov, Veniamin Mikhaylovich, troubleshooter for machine tools with digital program control at "Stankostroitelnyy Zavod" V.I. Lenin Production Association, Frunze City. From Frunzenskiy Territorial Okrug No 714, Kirghiz SSR.

Dubnikov, Valeriy Danilovich, director of the Paranga peat enterprise in Paranginskiy Rayon, Mary ASSR, CPSU member, Paranga Settlement, Paranginskiy Rayon. From Sernurskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 601, Mari ASSR.

Dyusembayev, Vakhit, mining foreman at the blasthole drilling section of the Leninogorsk polymetallic combine's Tishinskiy Mine, CPSU member, Leninogorsk City. From Zaysanskiy National-territorial Okrug No 141, Kazakh SSR.

Yegizekova, Aysaule Naurzbayevna, machine operator in a Komsomol-youth team on Khobdinskiy Rayon's "Akrabskiy" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Akrab village, Khobdinskiy Rayon, Aktyubinsk Oblast. From Aktyubinskiy National-territorial Okrug No 133, Kazakh SSR.

Yeremey, Grigoriy Isidorovich, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Trade Unions Council, CPSU member, Kishinev City. From Brichanskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 264, Moldavian SSR.

Zhitkov, Oleg Alekseyevich, tunneler of the "Tsentroshakhtorudstroy" Trust Yakovlevskoye Specialized Mine Construction Administration, CPSU member, Yakovlevo Settlement, Yakovlevskiy Rayon. From Belgorodskiy Rural Territorial Okrug No 126, RSFSR.

Ignatov, Stepan Vladimirovich, chief economist on "Pomozdinskiy" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Pomozdino village, Ust-Kulomskiy Rayon. From Ust-Kulomskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 590, Komi ASSR.

Ignatyev, Innokentiy Gavrilovich, permanent representative of the Yakutsk ASSR Council of Ministers on the RSFSR Council of Ministers, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Bulunskiy National-Territorial Orkug No 694, Yakutsk ASSR.

Irgashev, Akram Kurbanovich, manager of "Uzbekgidroenergostroy" Trust, CPSU member, Tashkent City. From Tashkentskiy-Oktyabrskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 117, Uzbek SSR.

Kashnikov, Nikolay Ilich, senior departmental lecturer at the Ufa Sergo Ordzhonikidze Aviation Institute's Kumertau Evening Studies Faculty, CPSU member, Kumertau City. From Kumertauskiy Territorial Okrug No 356, Bashkir ASSR.

Kozin, Eduard Gennadiyevich, senior lecturer of the Kharkov V.I. Lenin Polytechnical Institute's Sumy Branch, CPSU member, Sumy City. From Sumskiy Territorial Okrug No 512, Ukrainian SSR.

Kolotov, Vasiliy Ilich, editor of VYBORGSKIY KOMMUNIST, CPSU member, Vyborg City. From Vyborgskiy Territorial Okrug No 61, RSFSR.

Konev, Sergey Ivanovich, clinical house surgeon with the Dnepropetrovsk Medical Institute's Infectious Diseases Department, Dneprodzerzhinsk City. From Dneprodzerzhinskiy Territorial Okrug No 427, Ukrainian SSR.

Korneyenko, Viktor Nikolayevich, troubleshooter for machine tools with digital program control at the Gomel Radio Plant, Gomel City. From Gomelskiy City National-Territorial Okrug No 84, Belorussian SSR.

Kotik, Vasiliy Dmitriyevich, leader of an amalgamated comprehensive logging team at the De-Kastri Logging Combine, CPSU member, De-Kastri village, Ulchskiy rayon. From Severnyy Territorial Okrug No 114, RSFSR.

Kotov, Yuriy Stepanovich, chief of department at Kazan State University, CPSU member, Kazan City. From Sovetskiy Territorial Okrug No 383, Tatar ASSR.

Krasilnikov, Yuriy Georgiyevich, deputy chief engineer at the Kazan Motor Building Production Association, CPSU member, Kazan City. From Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 381, Tatar ASSR.

Kruglov, Albert Timofeyevich, deputy commander of a flying detachment at the Syktyvkar aviation enterprise, CPSU member, Syktyvkar City. From Syktyvkarskiy Territorial Okrug No 371, Komi ASSR.

Krutov, Aleksandr Nikolayevich, commentator with Central Television in Moscow city, CPSU member, Moscow city. From Zagorskiy Territorial okrug No 31, RSFSR.

Kurochka, Grigoriy Mikhaylovich, chairman of the Komi ASSR Supreme Court permanent session, CPSU member, Vorkuta City. From Vorkutinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 582, Komi ASSR.

Kutsenko, Nikolay Antonovich, legal adviser with the Kremenchug No 3 housing construction combine, Kremenchug City. From Poltavskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 54, Ukrainian SSR.

Levashev, Aleksey Vladimirovich, assistant lecturer at the Leningrad Technological Institute named for Leningrad City Soviet Political Economy Department, Leningrad City, Pushkin City [as published]. From Kolpinskiy Territorial Okrug No 52, RSFSR.

Lisitskiy, Viktor Ivanovich, deputy director for economic affairs of the "Chernomorskiy Sudostroitelnyy Zavod" Production Association, CPSU member, Nikolayev City. From Zavodskoy Territorial Okrug No 494, Ukrainian SSR.

Litvinov, Valeriy Vyacheslavovich, director of the Khabarovsk heating equipment plant, CPSU member, Khabarovsk City. From Khabarovskiy City Territorial Okrug No 110, RSFSR.

Logunov, Valentin Andreyevich, deputy editor of MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Kuntsevskiy Territorial Okrug No 13, RSFSR.

Matveyev, Yevgeniy Ivanovich, leader of a carpenters' team with the "Gidromontazh" Trust No 63 Construction and Installation Administration, CPSU member, Selyatino Settlement, Naro-Fominskiy Rayon. From Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 27, RSFSR.

Melnikov, Vasiliy Pavlovich, director of Rostov Oblast Volgodonskiy Rayon's "Pobeda" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Pobeda settlement. From Volgodonskiy Territorial Okrug No 270, RSFSR.

Minayev, Valentin Fedorovich, laboratory chief at the Krasnoarmeysk Mechanization Research Institute, CPSU member, Krasnoarmeysk City, Pushkinskiy Rayon. From Dmitrovskiy Territorial Okrug No 29, RSFSR.

Mirgazyamov, Marat Parisovich, chairman of the Bashkir ASSR Council of Ministers, CPSU member, Ufa City. From Birskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 503, Bashkir ASSR.

Miroshin, Boris Vladimirovich, chairman of Sovetskiy Rayispolkom, Orsk City, CPSU member, Orsk City. From Orskiy Territorial Okrug No 247, RSFSR.

Misuna, Ivan Ivnaovich, production foreman at the Krasnoyarsk Aluminum Plant, Krasnoyarsk City. From Tsentralnyy Territorial Okrug No 89 RSFSR.

Mitin, Viktor Stepanovich, chief of surgery at the Neryungri Central City Hospital. From Yakutskiy Yuzhnyy Territorial Okrug No 403, Yakutsk ASSR.

Molotkov, Nikolay Vasilyevich, adjustor at the Ryazan Mechanical Plant, Ryazan City. From Ryazanskiy Territorial Okrug No 279, RSFSR.

Moroz, Dmitriy Vasilyevich, chairman of the Lenin Kolkhoz, Nesterovskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Podlesnoye village, Nesterovskiy Rayon, Lvov Oblast. From Chervonogradskiy Territorial Okrug No 492, Ukrainian SSR.

Muravko, Mikhail Mikhaylovich, director of the "Sozh" Sovkhoz-Combine, Gomelskiy Rayon, CPSU member, Novaya Guta Population Center. From Novobelitskiy Territorial Okrug No 556, Belorussian SSR.

Nadelyuyev, Vladimir Ivanovich, chairman of the Nizhneudinskiy Rayon's Lenin Kolkhoz, CPSU member, Solontsy village, Nizhneudinskiy Rayon. From Nizhneudinskiy Territorial Okrug No 174, RSFSR.

Nikolayev, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, chairman of the Yukhnovskiy Rayon's "45 Let Oktyabrya" Kolkhoz, Kaluga Oblast, CPSU member, Shchelkanovo village, Yukhnovskiy Rayon. From Smolenskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 27, RSFSR.

Novikov, Grigoriy Fedorovich, sector chief at an electronic equipment production association, CPSU member, Votkinsk City. From Votkinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 662, Udmurt ASSR.

Nosov, Vavil Petrovich, chief of the machine repair workshop at Ust-Tsilemskiy Rayon's "Tsilemskiy" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Trusovo village. From Nizhnepechorskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 586, Komi ASSR.

Obolenskiy, Aleksandr Mitrofanovich, design engineer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Kola Scientific Center's Polar Geophysic Institute, Apatity City, Murmansk Oblast. From Leningradskiy Rural National-Territorial Okrug No 20, RSFSR.

Oborok, Konstantin Mikhaylovich, chairman of the Nisporenskiy Settlement Ispolkom, CPSU member, Varzareshty village, Nisporenskiy Rayon. From Ungenskiy Territorial Okrug No 705, Moldavian SSR.

Ovchinnikov, Vladimir Petrovich, repairman at the Altay Units Plant, CPSU member, Barnaul City. From Barnaulskiy Territorial Okrug No 66, RSFSR.

Omelyanenko, Konstantin Sergeyevich, chairman of Volnovakhskiy Rayon's "Rossiya" Kolkhoz, Zlatoustovka village. From Volnovakhskiy Territorial Okrug No 435, Ukrainian SSR.

Orazliyev, Meretgeldy, painters team leader at specialized small-scale mechanization administration of the "Turkmentsentrostroy" Construction Administration's Construction Department, CPSU member, Ashkhabad City. From Ashkhabadskiy Territorial Okrug No 740, Turkmen SSR.

Orlov, Aleksandr Kondratyevich, director of the Chelyabinsk branch of the N.M. Shvernik Trade Union Movement Higher School, CPSU member, Chelyabinsk City. From Leninskiy Territorial Okrug No 332, RSFSR.

Oskin, Anatoliy Dmitryevich, director of the "Ukhtales" Production Association's Sosnogorsk Logging Combine, CPSU member, Sosnogorsk City. From Sosnogorskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 587, Komi ASSR.

Panov, Nikolay Nikolayevich, commander of an An-26 at the Pskov Combined Air Detachment, Pskov City. From Pskovskiy Territorial Okrug No 264, RSFSR.

Polikarpov, Nikolay Aleksandrovich, director of Mokshanskiy Rayon's "Yelizevetinskiy" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Yelizavetino village. From Oktyabrskiy Territorial Okrug No 253, RSFSR.

Polyachenko, Mikhail Naumovich, chief physician at the Khabarovsk Kray Dermo-Venereology Dispensary, CPSU member, Khabarovsk City. From Amurskiy Territorial Okrug No 112, RSFSR.

Popov, Yuriy Vasilyevich, deputy science director of Leningrad's V.M. Bekhterev Psychoneurology Scientific Research Institute, CPSU member, Leningrad City. From Nevskiy Territorial Okrug No 55, RSFSR.

Prokopchuk, Boris Vasilyevich, oblispolkom first deputy chairman, chairman of the oblast agricultural committee, CPSU member, Tyumen City. From Ishimskiy Territorial Okrug No 322, RSFSR.

Prokushev, Vladimir Ivanovich, PRAVDA correspondent for the Baskhir ASSR, CPSU member, Ufa City. From Sovetskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 505, Bashkir ASSR.

Pyankov, Boris Yevgenyevich, colonel general, commander of the Red Banner Siberian Military District, CPSU member, Novosibirsk City. From Dzerzhinskiy Territorial Okrug No 230k RSFSR.

Reysh, Bruno Erikhovich, oblast health department chief surgeon, department chief at the oblast hospital, Ust-Kamenogorsk. From Vostochno-Kazakhstanskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 137, Kazakh SSR.

Ryabkov, Vitaliy Makarovich, rector of the G.I. Nosov Mining and Metallurgy Institute in Magnitogorsk, CPSU member, Magnitogorsk City. From Chelyabinskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 32, RSFSR.

Ryabtsov, Boris Ivanovich, senior foreman at the Chkalovskiy section of the "Agroprommekhmontazh" Trust's Ilinogorskiy Interfarm Mobile Mechnaized Column, CPSU member, Chkalovsk City. From Gorodetskiy Territorial Okrug No 161, Gorkiy Oblast, RSFSR.

Saydakhmedov, Isakzhan Mamadzhanovich, commander of the Samarkand Combined Air Detachment, CPSU member, Samarkand City. From Samarkandskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 110, Uzbek SSR.

Samsonov, Aleksandr Sergeyevich, director of the S.M. Kirov First Moscow Timepiece Plant, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Proletarskiy Territorial Okrug No 20, RSFSR.

Sarayev, Sergey Borisovich, high-voltage power line repair and operation service chief on the Tuva Grid, Kyzyl City. From Kyzylskiy Vostochnyy National-Territorial Okrug No 646, Tuva ASSR.

Semenov, Vitaliy Aleksandrovich, senior scientific staffer at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Technical Mechanics Institute, Dnepropetrovsk. From Zhovtnevoy Territorial Okrug No 422, Ukrainian SSR.

Semenov, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, secretary of Grodno Belorussian Communist Party Obkom, CPSU member, Grodno City. From Grodnenskiy Territorial Okrug No 560, Belorussian SSR.

Seredkin, Vladimir Stepanovich, director of the Klyuyevka Lumber Transshipment Base, CPSU member, Klyuyevka Settlement, Kabanskiy Rayon. From Kabanskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 522, Buryat ASSR.

Setkin, Yuriy Borisovich, commander of a parachute training unit at the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy's Cheboksary Air Sports Club, CPSU member, Cheboksary City. From Leninskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 679, Chuvash ASSR.

Sorochik, Yuriy Yuryevich, department chief at Lvov Ukrainian Komsomol Gorkom, CPSU member, Lvov City. From Lvovskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 50, Ukrainian SSR.

Stepanov, Vladimir Nikolayevich, director of Olonetskiy Rayon's "Vidlitskiy" Animal Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Vidlitsy village. From Petrozavodskiy Territorial Okrug No 369, Karelian ASSR.

Sulakshin, Stepan Stepanovich, laboratory chief at the Nuclear Physics Scientific Research Institute, CPSU member, Tomsk City. From Tomskiy Territorial Okrug No 313, RSFSR.

Ten, Radiy Lavrentyevich, director of the Tokmak Worsted Spinning Factory, CPSU member, Tomsk City. From Tokmakskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 347, Kirghiz SSR.

Ternyuk, Nikolay Emmanuilovich, deputy chief technologist at the "Zavod im. Malysheva" Production Association, CPSU member, Kharkov City. From Kharkovskiy-Ordzhonikidzevskiy Territorial Okrug No 522, Kharkov Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

Travkin, Nikolay Ilich, student at the Moscow Higher Party School, CPSU member, Moscow City. From Shchelkovskiy Territorial Okrug No 45, Moscow Oblast, RSFSR.

Trofimov, Aleksey Vasilyevich, director of the "Rugozerskiy" Animal Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Rugozero village, Muyezerskiy Rayon, Karelian ASSR. From Suoyarvskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 579, Karelian ASSR.

Fargiyev, Khamzat Akhmedovich, teacher at No 18 Secondary School, Malgobek City. From Sunzhenskiy Territorial Okrug No 398, Chechen-Ingush ASSR.

Khorolskaya, Nina Ivanovna, milking machine operator at Mashevskiy Rayon's "Ukraina" Kolkhoz, CPSU member, Mashevka Urban Settlement, Poltava Oblast. From Novosanzharskiy Territorial Okrug No 508, Poltava Oblast, Ukrainian SSR.

Khubiyev, Khadzhibek Nanakovich, chairman of Moskovskiy Rayon's "Rossiya" Kolkhoz, CPSU member, Sretenka village, Moskovskiy Rayon, Kirghiz SSR. From Kalininskiy Territorial Okrug No 717, Kirghiz SSR.

Khudayerov, Parda, director of the "Iskra" Sovkhoz, Gagarinskiy Rayon, Surkhan-Darya Oblast, Uzbek SSR. From Termezskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 112, Uzbek SSR.

Tsykalo, Rostislav Ivanovich, deputy party committee secretary at the "Krasnoyarskgesstroy Construction Administration, CPSU member, Sayanogorsk City. From Sayanogorskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 733, Khakass Autonomous Oblast.

Tsyrenov, Zhargal Tsydenzhapovich, machine operator at Bichurskiy Rayon's "Bichurskiy" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Dabatuy village. From Selenginskiy Territorial Okrug No 361, Buryat ASSR.

Tsyu, Nikolay Antonovich, first secretary of Kishinev party gorkom, CPSU member, Kishinev City. From Kishinevskiy-Oktyabrskiy Territorial Okrug No 696, Moldavian SSR.

Chelyshev, Vitaliy Alekseyevich, senior correspondent for the newspaper INDUSTRIALNOYE ZAPOROZHYYE, CPSU member, Zaporozhyye City. From Zaporozhskiy-Zhovtnevoy Territorial Okrug No 455, Ukrainian SSR.

Chernyak, Vladimir Kirillovich, department chief at the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences' Economics Institute, Kiev City. From Kiev City National-Territorial Okrug No 33.

Shabanov, Talgat Khatipyanovich, drivers team leader at the Uchaly Mining and Enrichment Combine, Uchaly City. From Beloretskiy Territorial Okrug No 354, Baskirian ASSR.

Shapkhayev, Sergey Gerasimovich, senior lecturer at the East Siberia Technological Institute, Ulan-Ude City From Sovetskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 517, Buryat ASSR.

Shevlyuga, Vladimir Yakovlevich, molder at the "Rostselmash" Production Association, CPSU member, Rostov-na-Donu City. From Proletarskiy Territorial Okrug No 269, RSFSR.

Sheyko, Anatoliy Vasilyevich, chief agronomist at Starobelskiy Rayon's "Pervoye Maya" Kolkhoz, CPSU member, Bondarevo village. From Starobelskiy Territorial Okrug No 419, Ukrainian SSR.

Shelistov, Nikolay Mikhaylovich, chief of surgery at the Ostrogozhsk Central Rayon Hospital, CPSU member, Ostrogozhsk City. From Rossoshanskiy Territorial Okrug No 154, RSFSR.

Shushkevich, Stanislav Stanislavovich, prorector of the V.I. Lenin Belorussian State University, CPSU member, Minsk City. From Minskiy-Moskovskiy Territorial Okrug No 564, Belorussian SSR.

Shchelkanov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich, loader at the Leningrad "Berezka" Trading Firm's No 20 Store, Leningrad City. From Kirovskiy Territorial Okrug No 51, RSFSR.

Yunyayev, Petr Alekseyevich, director of Gorodishchenskiy Rayon's "Kamenskiy" Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Kamennyy Settlement. From Traktorozavodskiy Territorial Okrug No 140, RSFSR.

Yablonko, Nikolay Vasilyevich, director of Temryukskiy Rayon's "Chernomorskiy" Vineyard Sovkhoz, CPSU member, Taman village. From Slavyanskiy Territorial Okrug No 82, RSFSR.

Yavorivskiy, Vladimir Aleksandrovich, writer, secretary of the Ukrainian Writers' Union Board, CPSU member, Kiev City. From Minskiy Territorial Okrug No 467, Kiev City, Ukrainian SSR.

Yangyshev, Vladimir Mikhaylovich, first secretary of Lenskiy CPSU Raykom, CPSU member, Lensk City. From Leninskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 692, Yakut ASSR.

Yakovlev, Makar Makarovich, chief of an investigation unit at the Yakut ASSR Prosecutor's Office, CPSU member, Yakutsk City. From Yakutskiy Rural National-Territorial Okrug No 691, Yakut ASSR.

Tatar ASSR Runoff Election Results Reported

PM2405102789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Single Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent M. Zaripov under the general heading "Voting Results": "Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic"]

[Excerpt] Another four deputies were elected in runoffs in the Tatar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic [ASSR] last Friday. What did this crucial voting bring? In the Leninskiy Okrug No 381 wards the victor was Yu. Krasilnikov, deputy chief engineer at the Kazan Engine Building Association. In Sovetskiy Okrug No 383 the majority of voters showed their preference for Yu. Kotov, chief of Kazan University's Nature Conservancy Department. In Tukayevskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 642 the seat was won by N. Bekh, general director of the giant Kama Truck Plant. The situation in the RSFSR's Kazanskiy National-Territorial Okrug No 11, which comprises two autonomous republics—the Tatar and Chuvash—was complicated. The contenders there were People's Physician of the USSR F. Grigoryev, from the Chuvash ASSR, and People's Artist of the USSR M. Salimzhanov, chief director of the Tatar "G. Kamal" Academic Theater. F. Grigoryev was elected USSR people's deputy. [passage omitted]

Gorkiy Election Decided on Third Ballot

PM2405102989 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent V. Pinigin under the general heading "Voting Results": "Gorkiy Oblast"]

[Text] "The week 14 through 21 May was the most packed and interesting," said V. Ulyanycheva, chairman of the Gorodetskiy Okrug No 161 Electoral Commission. "The candidates—V. Yeliseyev, director of a ship repair works, and B. Ryabstov, a building inspector, and their agents learned from the experience we and other okrugs in the oblast have built up. Efforts were made to hold workplace meetings in enterprises. And although people were somewhat tired by the protracted campaign, their was no waning of interest in it."

Yes, surprising as it may seem, 85.6 percent of the electorate went to the polls to vote for the third time. The count of the ballot papers showed that Boris Ivanovich Ryabtsov, building inspector at the "Agropromtekhmontazh" Trust, was elected USSR people's deputy for Gorodetskiy Territorial Okrug.

Runoff Election Results From Across USSR

PM2405124189

[Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 1989 Morning Edition carries on page 2 under the headline "Runoff Results. IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report" the following reports by N. Baklanov from Kiev, A. Stepovoy from Moscow Oblast, A. Solovyev from Tomsk, and V. Komov from Voronezh:

"Kiev.

"An election marathon in Kiev City National-Territorial Okrug No 33 has ended in victory for Doctor of Economic Sciences V. Chernyak, departmental section head at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Economics Institute. In a runoff he won the support of more than 56 percent of the voters while V. Karpenko, editor of VECHERNIY KIEV, won only around 39 percent of the votes.

"In Dneprovskiy Territorial Electoral Okrug No 465 V. Grishchuk, Kiev university reader, was elected in a runoff, and in Minskiy Okrug No 467 writer V. Yavorivskiy was elected."

"Moscow Oblast.

"USSR people's deputies were elected in five okrugs in Moscow Oblast 21 May. Voters in the Zagorskiy Territorial Okrug No 31 achieved the biggest turnout. Almost 80 percent of the total number of voters came to the ballot boxes. The contest here was between two journalists—Central Television commentator A. Krutov and IZVESTIYA political observer A. Bovin. A. Krutov was elected people's deputy.

"Voters in Mytishchinskiy Okrug No 35 showed the least interest in the protracted elections. Only just over 70 percent of the total number of voters came to the polling stations. V. Gorokhov, director of the 'Losinyy Ostrov' National State Nature Park, won by just over 3,000 votes, thus gaining the mandate of USSR people's deputy.

"In Leninskiy Okrug No 27 Ye. Matveyev, a joiner team leader at the 'Gidromontazh' Trust No 63 installation and construction administration, won the seat.

"In Shchelkovskiy Okrug No 45 voters also placed their trust in a well-known construction worker who is currently studying at the Moscow Higher Party School—N. Travkin.

"In Dmitrovskiy Territorial Okrug No 29 V. Minayev, head of a laboratory at the Krasnoarmeyskiy Mechanization Scientific Research Institute, was elected USSR people's deputy."

"Tomsk.

"The path to the deputy's mandate proved hard and long for Nikolay Belous, gas-arc welder at the 'Strezhevoyneft' oil and gas extraction administration. IZVESTIYA readers may remember his letter 'Why I changed my mind about withdrawing my candidacy.'

"On 14 May the seat was contested by 14 candidates. N. Belous, nominated again, was also taking part. However, again none of the candidates achieved the cherished aim. The okrug electoral commission organized a runoff on the territory of Kolpashevskiy Okrug No 314. On 21 May its results were summed up. Gas-arc welder, Communist Nikolay Petrovich Belous was registered as people's deputy.

"Communist Stepan Stepanovich Sulakshin, head of a laboratory at the Tomsk Nuclear Physics Scientific Research Institute, ran in the Tomskiy Electoral Okrug No 313 as one of 11 candidates. He, too, was elected USSR people's deputy."

"Voronezh.

"During the first stage of the electoral campaign two candidate USSR people's deputies were registered in Rossoshanskiy Territorial Okrug No 154, and during the second stage there were four candidates. None of them won the requisite number of votes at the time.

"The runoff last Sunday offered voters the choice between two candidates: N. Shelestov, departmental head at the Ostrogozhskiy Rayon Hospital, and L. Vorotnikov, first secretary of the Pavlovskiy CPSU Rayon Committee. N. Shelestov won, winning 59.1 percent of the votes against L. Vorotnikov's 25 percent; 67.1 percent of voters took part in the elections; attendance was lowest in Rossosh city—8.9 percent."

Deputy Popov Discusses Electoral Shortcomings

18001057 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 May 89 p 1

[Interview with USSR People's Deputy, Doctor of Economic Sciences Professor G. Popov by V. Krichko: "Control Over the Authorities"]

[Text] **[Popov] I am convinced that what our economy needs is radical surgical intervention. I fear that V. Selyunin is right: part of our apparatus would like to postpone this operation and limit it to "normalization." But delay leads most often to more serious problems.**

My views on the state of affairs in the national economy, and the proposals to extricate ourselves from a crisis situation, are already known to leaders. Today, the fact of the matter is that without this, extrication is impossible. The reference point for radical restructuring of the economy should be improvement in our political system and its reform. Without people's control over the authorities, it will not be possible to control the apparatus. Who, then, will protect the farmer, the cooperative worker, or the leaseholder from the dominance of the bureaucracy?

[Krichko] But it is not a simple matter to make the slogan "All power to the soviets" a reality. We know that up to now the soviets, "elected by the people," have had to approve laws prepared by the administration. How can we realistically move away from this?

[Popov] I hope that the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies will be a serious school in this regard, to be sure, provided certain conditions are observed. The examination of issues at that congress should be preceded by their mandatory publication and discussion in appropriate committees and commissions. The commissions should be made up on the basis of voluntary participation by deputies giving due consideration to their professional interests, regardless of affiliation to a particular territory or public organization—the CPSU, the Komsomol, or the creative unions. Let them be grouped according to the common nature of their election platforms.

For every law, lists must be compiled of all those who drew it up, discussed it, and approved it, and who personally introduced it into the parliament. A rejection of the draft law should mean the retirement of its main authors (in their capacity of authors, of course). Let the discussion of draft laws become the most important instrument for purging the apparatus, both from the authors of the texts and those members of the collegium who approve a draft.

And if instructions are published in the opinion of the deputies distorting the meaning of a law, it is essential simply to condemn those officials who approved them. In this way the elections will become direct and equal for all.

It is also necessary to review the principle and quotas for representation from the various nationalities. Today it is not nationalities but national-territorial formations that are represented in the soviets, within the framework of which several nations and nationalities live (the union and autonomous republics and the national okrugs). As a result, entire peoples, such as the Germans, the Poles or the Crimean Tatars, have not elected their own deputies.

It is essential to bring proper order to the list of public organizations. Why are there no deputies representing religious communities? Should "authorized" philatelists have greater representation than public education? The quota system for representation in an elected organ must also be improved. Why, for example, does the Union of Journalists have a quota of 10 people, while the Academy of Sciences has 20? An all-union referendum is needed on the question of quotas for the public organizations or on some other clear-cut principle.

It is absolutely essential to make provision in the public organizations for a procedure for secret voting at all stages; otherwise there is no guarantee that candidates will not become mainly representatives of the leadership. This is especially typical of those organizations in which there are no primary echelons.

[Krichko] Before the start of the election campaign, there were stormy debates on the subject of whether or not deputies were needed from the public organizations at all. What is your opinion on this?

[Popov] Under the conditions of a one-party system the election of deputies from the public organizations is the only way to represent the entire spectrum of public opinion reaching as far as opinions alternative to state and party opinions.

[Krichko] Does not the departmental approach exert some effect in the examination of some problems? For all deputies, including the representatives of the public organizations, still serve somewhere, or perhaps are subordinate to some particular department—scientists to the Academy of Sciences, engineers to their ministries, and so forth.

[Popov] In the long term, after their election all deputies should become professional parliamentarians. The intention now is to elect 540 people, which is a minority in the makeup of the Congress of People's Deputies. And there is no rigid requirement for them to resign from their other state posts. With a yearly renewal of one-fifth of the makeup of the Supreme Soviet, in 5 years (the period for which the Supreme Soviet and the Congress of People's Deputies are elected) in a best case 540 plus 540 candidates will become "professionals." It seems to me that it is scarcely worth changing the makeup of the Supreme Soviet, for in a year all one can do is adapt to new conditions, with hardly any time left to do anything useful for the country.

[Krichko] How will the parliamentary faction from the USSR Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies, of which you are a member, operate in the country's highest organ?

[Popov] It should occupy itself with questions concerning the engineering societies and the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. This issue appears on the instructions for all deputies from the Union of Scientific and Engineering Societies. At the same time, each of us, it seems to me, will be in the group (faction) of deputies whose election platforms and personal interests coincide, some in the ecological group, others in an economic group, yet others in the education group, and so forth.

The mechanism for interaction between USSR people's deputies from the public organizations and the territorial groups of deputies remains unclear. Here, for example, it is impossible to permit the Moscow territorial group to be completely absorbed by Muscovites who are the delegates from public organizations. Evidently since the deputies from the public organizations make up one-third of the Congress, their proportion should not be more than one-third in a regional group. And this "parsing" should be done giving due consideration to the will of the former and the opinion of the latter. And those deputies from public organizations who do not finish up where they wanted to be should probably be reallocated on a mandatory basis by the Congress itself to representation on some agreed commission. It will be a complex procedure. However, democratic procedures are always very complex.

[Krichko] In short, much work lies ahead and a great deal is still unclear....

[Popov] Yes, and this is why it is so important that the deputies start to exchange opinions with each other as early as possible. In this sense I am placing great hopes in Club of Moscow Deputies that has been set up at the House of Political Education of the Moscow CPSU City Committee. It meets daily at five in the afternoon. All deputies are welcome, not just the Muscovites. The themes of the sessions include work procedure for the Congress, the agenda for the Congress, the status of deputies and deputy groups, the Supreme Soviet and other elected organs. The burning issue is the Law on Elections. In addition, those deputies who are economists want to draw up their own instructions for the Supreme Soviet and government regarding the concept of socioeconomic policy in the new stage of restructuring.

We would greatly like what has been prepared here in the club to be made accessible to all deputies and the entire public. And that it helps the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in making preparations for the Congress.

Deputy Procurator Discusses Gdlyan-Ivanov Case

LD2305145789 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1115 GMT 23 May 89

[Interview with USSR Deputy Procurator General Aleksandr Filippovich Katushev by radio correspondent Nikita Rossokov; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Rossokov] Aleksandr Filippovich, quite a few reports have been published in the press lately, and sometimes contradictory ones at that, about violations of Soviet legality committed by investigators of the investigative group headed by Comrade Gdlyan. What is the essence of these violations?

[Katusev] The listeners have had the opportunity to familiarize themselves with the materials published in the press on 20 May, of the special commission which the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium tasked with checking the statements and complaints—many, unfortunately—of serious violation of legality by investigators comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov, during the investigation of the criminal case of bribery in Uzbekistan. One should bear in mind that the commission's conclusions do not contain deductions of any proven nature of this or that violation of legality by Gdlyan and Ivanov. All they do is set out the facts of specific violations which are reported in letters and complaints from citizens, and from investigative and procuracy staff.

To speak briefly about the contents of such reports, they assert that in recent years, striving to artificially expand the circles of those accused of corruption of senior officials, comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov, as well as several other investigators from the investigative group, starting imposing the flawed practice of indiscriminate accusations of bribery, encouraging suspects and witnesses to give so-called inciminating evidence [priznatelniye pokazaniya] by means of unjustified arrests, blackmail, and intimidation without due checking of the circumstances of what had been committed. This follows from the complaints and letters from citizens. It must be said bluntly that by speaking in the media and to the public, comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov crudely broke with the ethics of investigating and the law's demand for presumption of innocence, and they made statements which made accusations against a number of senior officials of involvement in serious crimes, without any proof.

For this reason, it is not by chance that the commission composed of USSR People's Deputies, prominent academic lawyers, and representatives of law-enforcement bodies, without, as I have said, coming to final conclusions, saw it necessary to task the USSR Procuracy with organizing careful checking of all the statements and reports about violation of legality which are allegedl to have been committed by Gdlyan and Ivanov when they were investigating criminal cases. It is only following such a check that it will be possible to dot all the i's.

[Rossokov] I would like to ask you this, as well: What measures are being adopted at the moment by the USSR Procuracy to establish the truth of these accusations, or perhaps establish innocence?

[Katusev] In order to check the statements and reports about violation of legality that I have already spoken of, the USSR Procuracy has formed a competent group composed of the best qualified and most experienced staff of the apparatus. At present, taking into consideration the serious issues raised in citizens' statements about crude violations of the law, the question of starting a criminal case with the aim of checking this information through investigation is being resolved. I think that this is the best way of checking, checking by way of an investigation into whether there were violations or not, and whether citizens and some officials are reporting things correctly in their letters. It would, at the moment, be difficult to say what decision will be adopted, and who will in fact be undertaking the investigations.

[Rossokov] Aleksandr Filippovich, how did such violations become possible, presuming that they are right? Was any procuratorial supervision implemented over the work of this group?

[Katusev] Of course, there was procuratorial supervision over the work of the investigative group headed by Comrade Gdlyan, although it was complicated to do so because of the large number in the group and the way it was dispersed. I will add that there was also monitoring of the work of the investigative apparatus of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], although it can be admitted that this monitoring was not as it should have been. One must not forget that it was not just Gdlyan's group that was involved in the investigations into bribery, corruption, and organized crime in this region, as it might seem to many today. Suffice it to say that in 1985-86 alone, the activities of more than 1,500 criminal groups were exposed and stopped directly by the investigative apparatus, and a considerable number of cases of theft and bribery were closed. However, all of this positive work was put into the shade by extremely negative phenomena.

I started implementing supervision over the work of Gdlyan's group and the investigation of cases in Uzbekistan in the second half of 1987. When I arrived in Uzbekistan, I was struck immediately by the mass of complaints from citizens about unjustified indictments for criminal liability by the Uzbek SSR Procuracy.

A special commission was set up which checked out these signals, and indeed, many cases were confirmed. In December 1987 a collegium of the USSR Procuracy examined the matter of the state of procuratorial supervision of compliance with legality in bringing citizens to criminal account in the Uzbek SSR. Serious complaints were made against the former republican procurator, Comrade Buturlin, and against his deputy—now also former—Comrade (?Gaydanov), in connection with the

numerous gross violations of law that have been brought to light in the republic, unfounded criminal charges being brought against citizens, manifestations of lack of objectivity and bias on the part of the prosecution, and illegal arrests. In the recent period, in recent days, there has appeared in the newspaper SELSKAYA PRAVDA....

[Rossokov interrupting] That is an Uzbek newspaper, right?

[Katusev]...an Uzbek newspaper. There has appeared an article "Arbitrariness to Stormy Applause." It was written by Comrade Anatoliy Kovalev and it reveals the most gross cases of legality being breached by Comrade Gaydan and by others, Comrade (?Laptev) and Procurator Buturlin. We will take a serious attitude toward checking out these signals, and of course, the proper decision will be made, of which we will give notice. Also, during that period we started receiving complaints from citizens of breaches of legality in the conduct of investigations by investigators in Gdlyan's group, in connection with which appropriate measures were taken. In the recent period, the number of such complaints has substantially increased, but Comrade Gdlyan, having relaxed his work in guiding the investigative group, began to ignore the demands of procuratorial supervision and to manifest open indiscipline; he started ignoring the instructions of the procurator general and his deputies. He reacted to critical remarks abnormally, on occasion rudely and insultingly. Clearly, Comrade Gdlyan has come to believe in his impunity, assuming that the millions taken give him the right to deviate from the requirements of the law. All of this forestalled the making of serious decisions with regard to him, and moreover, this was done within the framework of implementing procuratorial supervision, which had been imposed on the USSR procurator general.

[Rossokov] You know, following publication of the report, on 20 May, I had occasion to hear concern from people, that the removal of Telman Gdlyan from leadership of the investigative group could have an effect on further investigative work on the Uzbek case and other cases of corruption which have been brought to light. And I, and probably our radio listeners, too, would like to know who is in the investigative group. We know practically only Comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov.

[Katusev] Well, first and foremost, you mentioned in your question the so-called Uzbek case. I would like to say that this is not quite right. We do not have Uzbek cases or Russian cases. By the very fact of this concept of an Uzbek case, we are casting a sort of shadow on the hardworking Uzbek people. We have such cases not only in Uzbekistan, but in a number of regions in the country, including Moscow, Leningrad, and in the south of the country, so I think that we should not speak from now on of the Uzbek case. I can be more precise. By order of the USSR procurator general of 22 May 1989, Gdlyan and Ivanov have been totally removed from investigation of criminal cases. The grounds for such a decision lay in gross violations of professional discipline and investigative ethics, and misinforming the public by way of false allegations against a number of official persons in the mass media. It has also been taken into account that Comrades Gdlyan and Ivanov manifest arrogance and conceit in their collective, and as a result of their improper behavior in the investigative section of the USSR procuracy and among attachee investigators, an unhealthy moral and psychological atmosphere has been created, which makes normal work difficult.

There should be no unease with regard to the removal of these investigators from the investigation; to be blunt, there is no justification for this. It should not be forgotten that a considerable number of investigators are taking part in the investigation into the case—not just Ivanov and Gdlyan, and not just the organs of the procuracy, but also those of the Committee for State Security, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as well as a number of operative workers from various services; more that 200 people in all. Each of them has his own sector of work. It is now important to rally all those who are working in the group in an organized fashion. To this end Comrade Vladimir Semenovich Galkin, deputy head of the investigation section of the USSR Procuracy, has been appointed its leader. He is a serious, competent, thoughtful investigative worker who has great experience in investigating cases of this category as well as other cases. We are taking additional measures to strengthen the investigative group. In addition, we are bringing into it experienced, intelligent, and principled investigatiors; we are intensifying the Procuracy's supervision.

[Rossokov] Tell me, please, how this relates to the previous question. How is the campaign against corruption and other types of malfeasance in office in our country going in general?

[Katusev] It must be said that, according to statistical data, 23.2 percent fewer crimes of corruption were recorded last year than in 1987, and cases of embezzlement carried out through misuse of official office, for example, were down by 8.7 percent. To some extent one can speak of a slackening of the struggle against this type of crime. However, the law enforcement organs aim to step up their work in investigating menifeasance in office—misappropriation of socialist property, bribery, and corruption. Many major cases in this category have been and are being investigated both by the organs of the Procuracy and the Internal Affairs organs. For example, the Ukranian Procuracy is investigating a case of embezzlement and bribery in the municipal services system of Kharkov Oblast, in which criminals have embezzled more than R6.8 million. The main investigative directorate of the Ministry of Internal Affairs has investigated a case of embezzlement and false accounting in cotton procurement in Shamkhorskiy Rayon in the Azerbaijan SSR—so it is not only in Uzbekistan—in which the sum of embezzled amounted to R22.5 million. The first

secretary of the party rayon committee has been convicted. This list could be continued. The country's investigative apparatus will no doubt continue to intensify its efforts in the campaign against economic crimes and malfeasance in office.

[Rossokov] And the last question, Aleksandr Filippovich. In your view, what are the essential legal guarantees to rule out any violations of socialist legality in the investigation of criminal cases? I don't mean only such notorious ones as the case conducted by Comrade Gdlyan, but all cases in general which touch upon the interests of Soviet citizens.

[Katusev] Well, if you are speaking with reference to the criminal case concerning abuse in Uzbekistan—or even all criminal cases in general—the indispensable guarantee that violations of legality will not be permitted is the intensification of the Procuracy's supervision of investigation. To this end we are taking organizational measures in particular. At present the issue is being considered of creating a special group to supervise the Procuracy which, it is proposed, will be removed from the investigative section, as was the case previously, and will be directly subordinate to the USSR procurator general. Previously, both the investigators and the supervisors of the Procuracy were subordinate to the head of the investigative section. I believe that this was not quite right. They somehow became used to one another; it was a single collective, and so on. But when we remove them from that subordination it will be a quite different subdetachment and there will be a guarantee that the Procuracy's supervision will be intensified.

If we are speaking in general about observance of legalty in the investigation of cases, then such guarantees might be offered by tackling the issue of permitting advocates at an earlier stage of the investigation. And I also think that tackling the issue of reorganizing investigations in the country—which has, unfortunately, been greatly delayed—will have a beneficial effect. Investigators feel a kind of uncertainty, and this is also the case, of course, in the training of qualified investigative cadres for the Procuracy, of which we have an acute shortage at present. We are therefore thinking about somehow tackling the issues of reinforcing the procuracy's cadres.

[Rossokov] Thank you for the interview, Aleksandr Filippovich.

IZVESTIYA Editor Rebuts PRAVDA Allegations

PM2405155989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[I. Laptev article: "Letter to PRAVDA: As For What Was Actually Said Concerning the Report Entitled 'Rally in Moscow' (PRAVDA, 23 May 1989)"; final paragraph is editorial postscript]

[Text] On May 23, PRAVDA published a report on the rally held last Sunday at the Luzhniki stadium. After reporting that some of its participants had made "defamatory attacks on the party," the newspaper's correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko added the following commentary to their verdict: "It is strange that the party members present at the rally, who included members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, did not draw attention to this. Even I.D. Laptev, a deputy from the Communist Party and chief editor of IZVESTIYA, did not mention a single word about the party's role in restructuring or about the fact that it was the CPSU which began the difficult process of democratizing society and opened the door to glasnost. That glasnost without which the Luzhniki rally itself could not have been held." Thus it may be concluded that in his speech Laptev expressed solidarity with the defamatory attacks on the party.

I would not have felt it necessary to make a public explanation about the criticism of my speech at the rally. Everyone is entitled to give his own evaluation of it. Clearly it is not difficult to find omissions in a speech delivered "without a text" during a stormy event and to criticize such speeches is an elementary task. However, the authors of the article took as their principle criticism not for what was said but for what was left unsaid. That approach is so discredited that it can be used only for prearranged purposes.

Therefore, the question is far from being one of personal ambitions. It is obvious to everyone who considers Lenin's principles of glasnost binding on himself that it cannot be acceptable, especially nowadays, to avoid participation in contentious political events or to refuse to talk with people on the most topical problems.

What was the most vital theme last Sunday? Judging by the very course of the rally—the speeches, rejoinders, and reaction of the crowd—it is obvious that the main theme which caught the attention of the more than 70,000 people there was the order of work of the forthcoming USSR Congress of People's Deputies, the attitude to the future Supreme Soviet, and the procedure for electing its leaders. The standard and character of the discussion set, as far as I am concerned, by speakers B. Yeltsin, A. Adamovich, and A. Sakharov made a discussion of that theme very difficult. A rally involving many thousands of people is not a rational roundtable conversation. Passions are heated, reactions follow quick as lightning, the time limit for each speech is 3 minutes, and no one has the right to expect special deference to his status or office.

The party is the initiator of restructuring. That idea is part of the social consciousness and I hope that as the editor of IZVESTIYA I have done something to establish it in people's minds. I am sure that the majority of the rally participants share it. Unfortunately, such unanimity is still not visible on the question of concrete steps connected with the process of the political reform and the creation of the rule-of-law state. Thus it is precisely here at this sensitive political juncture where opposing

views, opinions, and group and personal interests intersect that the ideological worker should be present, the worker who does not hide from real conflicts behind a screen of assertions which although absolutely true are commonplace.

No, I did not utter those phrases that Comrades Ovcharenko and Chernenko would obviously like to have heard from me, for I was speaking about something else, namely, that the Supreme Soviet should be elected at the outset of the congress' work and that we people's deputies should ensure the absolute paramountcy of the law in the country. Do these opinions indicate the absence of a party position, which the authors of the commentary in PRAVDA effectively impute to me? I think that everyone will be able to answer that for themselves.

Having spent more than 3 hours at the rally, I can say for myself that there were quite a few statements made from the rostrum that were indeed deserving of serious party criticism, since the infamous "democratic union," certain "anarchosyndicalists," and representatives of other previously unheard-of groups did grab the microphone. It remains a mystery why they did not attract the attention of the journalists who undertook to cover the rally for PRAVDA. Is it possible that the whole point lies in the fact that IZVESTIYA published the interview, "The Law Alone," in which RSFSR Deputy Prosecutor A. Buturlin, who had worked as prosecutor of Uzbekistan in 1984-1987, expressed his opinion. Touching on press coverage of the progress of investigation into certain criminal cases, A. Buturlin asserted, among other things, "In my view journalists G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko have played a very unseemly role." Perhaps I should have used the editor's pencil and struck out that unpleasant opinion of colleagues' work? But I have never recognized and do not intend to recognize two kinds of truth—one for journalists and one for the rest. Or are certain staffers in the PRAVDA editorial office able, while observing the "fighting from the sidelines," to dress up their personal grievances in the form of sermons about who should speak and on what? In the final count they were not forbidden to speak at the rally.

Sincerely cherishing the authority and principledness of PRAVDA, in whose editorial office I myself worked for quite a few years, I consider that the article "Rally in Moscow" improper and unworthy of its pages and I ask that this letter be published.

I. Laptev

PRAVDA's chief editor turned down this request. In view of this, IZVESTIYA's editorial collegium, deeming that the methods of "glasnost" demonstrated by the authors of the commentary "Rally in Moscow" is evidence of a certain political approach, feels obliged to publish the letter in IZVESTIYA.

Panel Discusses Information on Foreign Policy

LD2405105189

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1530 GMT on 23 May broadcasts an 84-minute program entitled "Repercussions: Foreign Policy and Presenting the Public With Information," presented by correspondent Farid Mustafyevich Seyful-Mulyukov with the participation of Leonid Petrovich Kravchenko, TASS general director; Albert Ivanovich Vlasov, chairman of the board of the NOVOSTI Press Agency; Vladimir Ivanovich Popov, first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio; Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, editor-in-chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN magazine; Vsevolod Vladimirovich Ovchinnikov, political observer of PRAVDA; and Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich Bovin, IZVESTIYA political observer. The video shows the panel seated in the studio.

Prior to introducing the panel members, Seyful-Mulyukov says that probably never before has Soviet foreign policy been so openly publicized and discussed as it is today, at a time of so many important worldwide issues. Unfortunately, he goes on, "We have still not rid ourselves of old models and stereotypes, habitual propaganda cliches and banal approaches in appraising the complex processes of the present day." Soviet foreign policy and its coverage in the media will probably be among the topics under discussion at the Congress of People's Deputies opening on 25 May.

He says that some questions had already reached the studio prior to the program's going on the air, and others are being telephoned in while it is in progress. The first question asked of Pyadyshev, who led the Soviet delegation at the recent London European forum of information and who describes its results. Although there are gaps in many positions between the delegates, they are small ones. There is approval for the soviet idea of strengthening glasnost and openness, but it has to be admitted that there is also criticism that there is too large a degree of secrecy on the Soviet side, and western journalists find difficulties in accessing sources of infromation. He says: "For the first time in the history of international meetings of the pan-European process the doors of the working groups, where the main discussion were held, were open to journalists." Popov and Kravchenko were also part of the Soviet delegation.

A Donetsk viewer asks the panel via telephone: How do you see the role of the Congress of People's Deputies and the new Supreme Soviet in informing the public about the most important decisions on questions of foreign policy?

Kravchenko says that everyone agrees that this congress will be an outstanding event. He says: "As far as I am aware—Vladimir Ivanovich will undoubtedly confirm this—Central Television's channel two will cover the

whole congress live, IZVESTIYA will publish all the speeches without exception, and TASS will, naturally, fulfill its role. We will report everything, but what is also good is that not only TASS, and perhaps not so much TASS, but all newspapers, including local papers, will be accredited, and they will be publishing the speeches of the deputies, including their own."

Asked about his views on the new law on the press and the sections in it on international information and the role of journalists, Vlasov says that in his opinion the law should reflect accessibility to sources of information, because without such access "our information, our comments and our analyses on questions of foreign policy, the economy and other issues, will be incomplete and onesided if the journalist does not possess the corresponding information and facts that should be supplied by the corresponding organizations." He says that NOVOSTI is already thinking of setting up special groups and correspondents for foreign-political, military, economic, and other matters.

Seyful-Mulyukov says: "Here is an interesting question sent by Muscovite Aleksey Yetskovskiy. This is what interests him: How have our radio and television broadcasting changed since the end of jamming, first of the BBC and the Voice of America, and subsequently of Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe? Have you been able to prepare for this free flow of information? Vladimir Ivanovich, I think, naturally, that you should answer this question.

Popov says: "Yes, of course. But, if you are talking about how television and radio are changing from the point of view of informing the public by our own means of supplying information to the viewer and the listener, then it is probably worth saying a few words about this. I would like to make a few points here. First: Undoubtedly, in a very short time—Boris Dmitriyevich was speaking here about the counterreading [tochka otshcheta]—it is very close. The overall exchange of information has changed; the operational nature of information has changed. We are, practicaly speaking, not lagging behind anyone. Moscow gets television news, and there is not a capital in the world which is ahead of us in putting out news. As regards the frequency of putting out this material, we will be making progress in this respect and it will be more often. That's the first thing.

"The second thing, which is very important, is this. For many years we have been explaining the position of our opponents—let's call them, moving away from stereotypes, ideological and political enemies, let's call them opponents—we have explained to them, told them about the position of our opponents, and now we have given them the opportunity to appear on our screens. So it has turned out that quite recently, some leading figures appeared for the first time on Soviet television screens, and over the past year or so over a hundred politicians in the West and the world in general have appeared on Soviet television. Without comment, they have simply voiced their point of view. There were President Reagan, President Mitterrand, Prime Minister Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl, Chancellor Vranitzky, and so on. It's difficult to think of who hasn't been on Soviet television."

Popov goes on to talk about the value of telebridges on such matters as children's and women's affairs, twinned towns, capital-to-capital discussions and discussions between Soviet and U.S. parliamentarians, and human rights, disarmament, and ecological issues. He says: "As far as our preparation for the lifting of jamming is concerned, you know that the democratic processes—the processes of reaffirming the policy of glasnost in our country which are under way—have created an atmosphere whereby our sociological services have not observed any fluctuations in public opinion since jamming was lifted.

"Moreover, we are noticing a tendency toward a reduction in eavesdropping, because both electronic means of information, television and radio, and the press, the written word, the newspapers and magazines, have started to inform our readers, viewers, and listeners so much. Of course, there are no bounds and much needs still to be done; but, still, it is not we who are worried, but rather our colleagues in these voices. That's for real and not for effect. There is one professional secret with which I would like to conclude, and that is that the lifting of jamming has given us the opportunity to utilize those capacties which were spent so extremely unproductively on this jamming process, to utilize them to expand radio broadcasting, and, first and foremost, in the national languages of the peoples of our country."

The next question Seyful-Mulyukov poses is from two regular Repercussions viewers, about Gorbachev's visit to China. They want to know why the Soviet media focussed more attention on the economic reform in China than on the political processes in that country. Oschinnikov, just back from China, replies: "Indeed, we tried even before the start of the visit to explain in various publications that were circulated what was happening and what the students were demanding, and to show all this during the visit, but, of course, what is important here is the question—not so much to us as to our western colleagues—of the correlation of the two circumstances and the essence of these events. I must say that when our Western colleagues put questions to me in our press center, 85 percent of the questions were not about the visit and not about the Soviet-Chinese meeting but about these student demonstrations, what we thought about them, and, you know, the main question was whether we thought this hampered the visit. Well, I answered them: Yes and no. No, because none of those who took part in the demonstrations was opposed to a Soviet-Chinese normalization; on the contrary, they were in favor of it. The students support restructuring and voice the most warm feelings toward Comrade Gorbachev. But at the same time it would probably be wrong to say that this was, so to speak, the most

favorable background. There were quite simply physical hindrances which arose; for example, a number of measures had to be changed, including the meeting venue, which had to be switched. By tradition, it takes place in front of the main entrance to the building of the Chinese People's Assembly on Tienanmen Square, and it had to be switched to the airport. On the 2d day the program was due to open with a wreath-laying ceremony at the heroes' memorial. This event was cancelled. The news conference was switched from the Chinese People's Assembly building. So, in purely physical sense, it was difficult for us to get through to where things were going on because there was no transportation, cars were not getting through, and the square and adjacent streets were packed with people."

Ovchinnikov says: As far as the question of our press covering more about China's economic reforms than political, then if you look at the Chinese media they write about the political aspects of Soviet restructuring. "We write about the economic aspects of China's reforms because it is here that we see more instructive things for ourselves. For example, the policy of openness and the creation of special economic zones." So, matters here are dictated by interests, and as exchanges increase we will be writing more about these things.

Vlasov and Ovchinnikov then stress the warmth of feeling of the Chinese people toward the USSR and the Soviet people. But Bovin says that in his opinion our press has not really captured the enormity of the situation that is going on in China.

Seyful-Mulyukov asks a question received from a Chelyabinsk viewer, who asks whether the panel agrees that the extreme secrecy in Soviet foreign policy has not only hindered but harmed our country.

Bovin replies: "I would say that the secret is the tool of bureaucracy, and bureaucracy does not wish to disarm itself. That's the crux of the matter. And here we are talking about correct information. But here we have a practical situation: Imagine some dried-up toothpaste in a tube and you have to force it out using immense force. That's how we have been squeezing out this information from the department where it is found. Let me give you a simple, elementary example. We were told at the foreign ministry, by Gennadiy Ivanovich Gerasimov, that the British had asked us to remove 11 of our people from Britain, and we in return requested 11 British people leave Moscow. We come across this situation dozens of times, as though it is normal. And suddenly I started to think and work out what it all meant. Among the 11 British who are being expelled are 3 journalists, colleagues of mine." Seyful-Mulyukov interrupts him saying that other people have asked about this. "Thank God," Bovin goes on, "that in the era of glasnost, a KGB press office exists. I picked up the telephone and called the KGB press office. Anatoliy Valentinovich Grinenko, deputy head of this press office, who seemed a very pleasant man from his voice, answered me, saying: Comrade Bovin, IZVESTIYA must send us a letter asking this question. I asked him this: Does this mean that we are expelling three journalists and that the KGB has concrete claims against their work? That was the question. He says to me: Send us a piece of paper from IZVESTIYA. I reply: What's the press center for? Does it exist so that you can reply to a journalist without paper? Then he said he'd call me back. Well, a couple of hours or so passed. Then the head of this press office phoned me. He said: You know we don't have such information at our disposal, call the foreign ministry! Comrade Uspenskiy, Nikolay Nikolayevich, he's the head of it, he's got everything! I was surprised, I must admit, then he said: Look at our report, that is we have at our disposal: conclusive information as to their unlawful activities. I said to him: What does this mean? Do you have any proof? Conclusive information, I asked him, or something like that? No, he says, it seems the comrades in the committee need to study it. Thus, the circle is formed. That's the right to information for you, spelled out!

That's a small detail. Of course, we have begun to squeeze out all this secrecy now. We are taking the first step. But, as a journalist, I hope that the press law will contain the right to information. But if, as Albert Ivanovich said, it says the right to information within the framework of common sense, then, excuse me, there will be no sense in this, because each of us sitting here has his own impression of what is meant by common sense in this instance."

Pyadyshev recalls a time during a meeting with Henry Kissinger when some of the civilian members of the Soviet delegation were uninformed about some aspects of the number of Soviet nuclear missiles that were under discussion.

Seyful-Mulyukov asks a question from another viewer, who wonders why the media gives so much space to official reports, such as telegrams on national holidays and birthdays, and asks if they ought not be published in the foreign ministry chronicle. Pyadyshev agrees that these official reports ought not to take priority over important foreign matters. Popov says television and radio suffer from the same disease. Another viewer wonders if censorship is really necessary in our time. Kravchenko says that it exists all over the world and this question is to be covered in the draft law on the press. Ovchinnikov believes that censorship as such is not necessary, but what is needed is a kind of juridicial service which could verify conformity with the materials of the laws on state military secrets and the law on the press, and so on. The discussion continues on the theme of immediacy of news and how the information revolution is changing things, and on how many sources are needed before a story is put out. Seyful-Mulyukov introduces a new topic, saying:

"Viewer Kolobkov from Tomsk, and Chestyakov from Leningrad, ask: Why is it that we are behind the Western

countries in the number of television channels? Obviously, at some time Western television companies will start broadcasting to the Soviet Union. How are we preparing for this? Vladimir Ivanovich, can you answer this?"

Popov replies: "Indeed, we are perhaps lagging behind in the number of channels, but I must tell the esteemed viewers who ask these questions that sometimes a fleeting impression from a brief tourist visit, even a business visit, creates somewhat inaccurate impressions. The first, perfectly cold, so to speak, fact: If you take the United States, the country with the most developed television, three or four channels at maximum can claim nationwide coverage. The rest are local channels. We have 2 nationwide channels and 122 program centers which broadcast in republics, krays, and oblasts. Incidentally, we have the most polyglot television, in 45 languages. So someone living in an oblast center, or in a republican center, often even gets more channels than in Moscow. But so far, of course, this is insufficient for a country like ours. And the question turns on technical possibilities. So far it is all very expensive.

What Leonid Petrovich said, when we move to satellite television broadcasting on the scale of our country, when we receive cheaper and incidentally precise reception of television pictures—such work is now being done by our colleagues in the ministry of communications and other industrial ministries—then we will have, of course, the opportunity for more channels. After that, I think, we will see the conversion of an educational channel into an all-union one. Of course, there is also a question here of competitiveness. We are now working on that. But I can express the confidence, which my colleagues in work probably share, that starting next year the second channel will become competitive with the first channel. It will become a second channel, perhaps even Central Television-2, so please pay attention to the days ahead. The relays of the congress, which will be carried fully by the second channel, will carry a new emblem, TsT-2, which stands for Central Television-2. This is a sort of birth of a new channel and it will go on to develop. But the final goal is to create a channel which will be able to compete with our first channel."

Kravchenko mentions the possibility of cable television, and is told by Popov that the costs are extremely high. Pyadyshev and Popov stress the importance of providing good quality television programs. Seyful-Mulyukov asks Bovin: "Mikhail Yevgeniyevich Smirnov from Moscow, a scientific worker, asks if it will be possible tomorrow or the day after, for example, to open IZVESTIYA and read, Aleksandr Yevgeniyevich, an article by you about the shortcomings or errors in Soviet foreign policy?"

Bovin replies: "Well, I'm not the one to answer that. You should ask the chief editor of IZVESTIYA, because it is one thing to write an article and another thing to publish it. These are different functions. But I think in general that IZVESTIYA has carried material, including material of mine, where we have given a critical analysis of certain actions of our foreign policy. Such articles have appeared also in the magazine of my esteemed colleague Boris Dmitriyevich, and the same in other papers, too. In general there is now this little window of glasnost, and we are starting gently to widen it as opposed to the hole in the ozone layer, which it would be better to close. So, it is in general a fully realistic thing. True, we always have this small delay, like we criticize our foreign policy acts more often, say, some 2 or 3 years later. But as for today's policy there are still some difficulties, because not everyone is used to it. But I am absolutely convinced, and at any rate our foreign minister is calling on us all to do it, and I think that in response to that call we will be writing such articles, although it is sometimes hard for us to do it and hard for the editor. But we will transgress our own inertia, so to speak."

Ovchinnikov talks about the need for a greater role for public opinion in forming foreign policy. Pyadyshev says that the Soviet Foreign Ministry is now wide open to journalists. In response to Seyful-Mulyukov's reminder that Foreign Minister Shevardnadze is on record as preferring foreign correspondents to Soviet ones, Pyadyshev agrees that Soviet correspondents are still too timid in questioning officials, and quotes the recent news conference in Beijing as proof of this assertion. Popov defends Soviet journalists, recalling that they are completely unused to bold questioning, and that they will soon get used to it. The discussion moves on to the need for better training for journalists. In response to a question about why MOSCOW NEWS is virtually unavailable in Russian, Vlasov says that it is mainly for foreigners, but that they are looking at the question of providing more copies in Russian.

In response to a question about the possibility of alternative television and press, Kravchenko agrees that TASS is very official, and that there should be more room for personal items by journalists. Vlasov says that there are experiments taking place involving joint productions in television with foreign companies. Popov says that competition is a great thing, and there should be more local television.

A short debate then ensues about the preponderance of Moscow journalists in the Soviet mass media. Popov says that the important thing is to get new blood, not where the new blood comes from. In answer to a question as to why journalists feel the need to try to form people's opinion, why they don't just inform people and let them make up their own minds, Ovchinnikov discusses the increasing importance of public opinion. After a discussion on the desirability of more events in socialist countries being screened on Soviet television, a question is asked about whether Soviet citizens can subscribe to foreign publications. The answer is yes, to some publications. A question follows about the U.S. journalists' prestige and their code of ethics. Soviet anchormen in the bridges are criticized for the poor quality of their

work. Popov agrees that they need more training, and Pyadyshev recalls the infamous Thatcher interview in which the embarrassingly inept approaches of the Soviet journalists were discovered.

Seyful-Mulyukov presents a quetion to Bovin: "Dmitriy Ivanovich Yeremey, from the town of Mozyr in Gomel Oblast, asks in what way do high-level comrades influence your publication?"

Bovin replies: "Things don't go to the high-level comraades, and if anyone has influence it is not high-level comrades, so the situation is fully normal. Things don't go to high-level comrades, so the viewer is worrying about nothing."

Pyadyshev briefly answers a question about the Vienna Convention to the effect that the USSR will have to make a lot of changes by the time of the Helsinki Conference in 1992.

Seyful-Mulyukov then says: "There are a number of questions concerning the changes in the leadership of USSR Gosteleradio. Such questions are asked by Oleg Mikhaylovich Reshetnikov from Moscow, Chilikov, also a Muscovite, and Stepanov. I think Vladimir Ivanovich Popov will briefly answer these requests and then we will end our program."

Popov replies: "Are they asking about the retirement of our chairman?"

Seyful-Mulyukov says: "Yes, and about the appointment of the new chairman."

Popov says: "You know, it was reported, and it indeed happened as it was reported. Aleksandr Nikitovich Aksenov is a person whom we all highly value and respect, a person with a very interesting and wholesome biography, a good party man, and a fine worker. The time came for him to retire. It was his state of health. You must bear in mind that this was a man who went through the war, who was seriously wounded in the trenches of Stalingrad. The time had come for a normal rotation of staff. There has come to us a very strong journalist, a strong worker, also a very respected person, Mikhail Sergeyevich Nenashev. It is a normal process that happens every day in many departments; there is nothing else behind it."

Seyful-Mulyukov then ends the program by thanking the participants and viewers.

Party Official Discusses Need for Estonian Unity

LD2405141989 Tallinn SIRP JA VASAR in Estonian 12 May 89 p2

["Two Paths" by Jaak Allik, first secretary of Communist Party of Estonia Viljandi Rayon Committee]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Estonia has split up and the party is threatened by a split: that was the leitmotif of the plenum [held by the Communist Party of Estonia Central Committee on 4 May]. The split in Estonia is of a political nature, between the supporters of perestroyka and its hidden opponents, between democrats and neo-Stalinists.

But there is also a split between ethnic groups, about questions with which the objective interests of those groups differ. At the moment the gaps are increasing, with the split developing among the Estonians themselves, and it is today by far bigger than a year ago. And yet we have but one aim: this selfsame right to be different, on our own—independent, both economically as well as politically, from the fraternal family of the peoples of the rest of the world. Tillemann, who keeps arguing in MAALEHT with Mrs Lauristin, is quite right when he headlined his latest piece of writing: "Ethnic Consolidation is the Only Way Out". The issue is how to achieve consolidation. And the matters will not improve in Estonia until all who live here, both Estonians and Russians, both those who have sided with the Estonian National Independence Party and with the Communist Party of Estonia, agree that it is impossible to achieve consolidation by imposing one's will upon other people. One cannot consolidate this way—that a group of people will decide to set up citizens' committees and I have to join them in the name of unity. Or that another group writes up some petition and I have to sign; otherwise I am said not to be an honest Estonian. Each of us wants to be different, as V. Grossman [novelist] justifiably thinks, and for that reason I want to be consulted for my opinion before a ready-made text is thrust upon me. One can but consolidate in the way of finding the common particle within the interests of all major forces; for this, however, one definitely needs to sit around the talks table without any kind of prejudices and conditions. The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum charged the leadership to begin such talks. The level of unity to be achieved this way is of course lower than it is envisaged by the higher aims of each participant, but it will ensure that the common aim is definitely achieved, and hence also that the common aims will gradually increase. Or is there indeed anybody to be found at the moment in Estonia who would again like to undertake the revolutionary path, with pathos, phrases and rivers of blood, which would eventually drown also the revolutionaries themselves?

The Estonian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum also pointed out the clear-cut option which already in the summer will confront each person living in Estonia: Is it the way toward a new statedom which would unite all the people of Estonia, toether with the prorestructuring forces of the whole of the Soviet Union; or is it back into the Republic of Estonia, with the restoration of the then citizenship, political structure, and national composition? The former path presupposes overcoming the split between the two ethnic communities in Estonia, presupposes active communication with colleagues from other union republics, presupposes preservation of the role of the Estonian Communist Party within the political structure of the society, but also a substantial renewal and activization of its leadership, and it presupposes support for the tactics of the present top leaders. This path means assistance in the slow transformation of the unitarian monstrosity which is armed from top to toe towards a law-governed state. This is expected of us by

the whole of Europe, whose constant fear of the eastern neighbor has definitely not been diminished by the events of Georgia.

The other path would be an attempt to slam the door hard, to declare independence and forget about the eastern neighbor; she will disintegrate anyway! This path presupposes citizens' committees, exacerbation of the ethnic conflict, liquidation of the Estonian Communist Party and a changeover to a multiparty [system] together with a struggle for power, with the aim of getting rid of the present leadership. The whole of Europe is warning us against this path because the fear of the eastern neighbor is indeed great and one's own shirt is still closest to one's skin.

Neither path will of course, promise a definite victory. But every person living in Estonia must now make a choice, when determining the tactics for the near future: Is it with the Communist Party of Estonia or against it? I see the main result of the latest plenum as putting this question clearly. The first option will of course also presuppose an active participation in working out and influencing the action program and policy of the Estonian Communist Party, both internally inside the party and externally.

Sitting comfortably between the two stools has been made impossible by the ultimatumist activity of the so-called extremists. The activity of both extremes, however, is so dubiously symmetrical and synchronized to such an extent throughout the Baltic area that inevitably a parallel emerges with the events of 1940, which were also directed symmetrically and in a synchronized way from one center. Perhaps those organs who fear the first path and who try to block it have again set up a center of some kind? Are not Dekanozov, Vyshinskiy and Zhdanov prowling again around us, with names from among the indigenous population already now?

Which path is realistically more dangerous to those who have inherited the spirit of those men? Let us think about this, too, before making a choice.

Sidorov on Nagorno-Karabakh Rumors, Situation

LD2405161489 Moscow TASS in Engish 1600 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Stepanakert May 24 TASS—In connection with rumours about clashes in Stepanakert, the capital of the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region, and the alleged onset of famine, a correspondent of the Armenian news agency ARMENPRESS asked for clarifications from a member of the special government committee for the region.

The committee member, Valeriy Sidorov, said that the "situation in Stepanakert and the autonomous region on the whole has been largely stable over the past few days." "Not a single instance of mass clashes, fights or provocations on the ethnic basis has been registered," he said. "There were individual cases of hooliganism, typical for any region and any time of the year. The city and the region are provided with food. Railway cars with flour, staple foods and animal feed, arrive regularly to the railway station. All vital services and health facilities are operating. Relations between the population and servicemen are normal."

Ex-KGB Chairman Recalls 1964 Khrushchev Ouster

18300622 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 20, 20-26 May 89 pp 5-6

[Interview with V.Ye. Semichastnyy, chairman of the KGB under the USSR Council of Ministers during the October (1964) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] *The October (1964) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee—events related to it were not made public for a long time.*

Now it has become possible to shed light on them. Our correspondent is told about the preparations for the plenum by V.Ye. Semichastnyy, chairman at that time of the KGB under the USSR Council of Ministers.

[Correspondent] Vladimir Yefimovich, recently our historians have been showing a good deal of interest in the personality of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. Documents and recollections are being published, but the time of his removal remains a "blank spot." Could you tell us when the preparation for this event began?

[Semichastnyy] Discussions about the fact that it would be necessary to remove Khrushchev began somewhere around the spring of 1964. As I recall, the initiative came from Brezhnev or Podgornyy.

[Correspondent] Khrushchev's son Sergey writes about N.G. Ignatov's role....

[Semichastnyy] Yes, he also played a certain role. But not the main one. He had probably had too many conversations about Khrushchev with all kinds of people. His special messenger, a former Chekist, heard them. This person found Sergey Khrushchev as well. He discussed this in detail in OGONEK. But, I repeat, Ignatov did not play the major role.

[Correspondent] When did you come into the picture?

[Semichastnyy] Perhaps from the very beginning. The investigators were well aware that it would be impossible to start everything without the KGB. As far as I know, a week before the beginning of the October (1964) Plenum they had a conversation with Kosygin in order to clarify his position, and the first question he asked was: "Is the KGB in on this?" And when he was told that we had been informed of it, he said: "I agree to it."

[Correspondent] But that was several days earlier. When did they actually decide to convene the plenum?

[Semichastnyy] At the end of August or the beginning of September 1964 I left for a vacation in Zheleznovodsk. Demichev was already there and Shelepin was in Kislovodsk. We met and traveled to Dombay. They left a week later. And a week after that they called me and said: "You absolutely must be in Moscow tomorrow." I understood that this had to do with the Central Committee plenum. I asked: "Is something really going to happen?" Because this subject had come up previously as well. They answered me: "This is final."

[Correspondent] Were there also attempts before this?

[Semichastnyy] Yes, there had been. Various variants came up. There were people in favor of arresting Khrushchev when he returned from Sweden.

I would not go along with this and said: "By no means. I am not a conspirator." The majority were inclined to think it necessary to discuss the matter at the Central Committee plenum. Paradoxical as it may sound, Khrushchev himself created the circumstances in the party whereby the question of his fate could be decided at the Central Committee plenum. Although Adzhubey writes that Khrushchev was discharged "secretly," he is wrong. There was a Central Committee plenum, but there was no discussion there. But were they really necessary in this case?

[Correspondent] When was the actual decision made to convene the October (1964) Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee?

[Semichastnyy] During that same October while Khrushchev was on vacation almost all the members of the the Central Committee Presidium met with Brezhnev and agreed to call Khrushchev back from Pitsunda to Moscow. We decided to telephone him. Who was going to do it? Brezhnev, of course. We hardly had to persuade him. He grabbed the telephone almost forcefully. In a quivering voice Brezhnev told Khrushchev that the next day there would be a meeting of the Presidium and that we wanted to discuss a number of issues which did not come together under the seven-year plan. Khrushchev responded: "Why are you in such a hurry? I will come back and we will straighten them out." And he did not give a concrete answer, he just said: "All right, I will think about it." But Brezhnev told him: "We can discuss all these issues only with your participation. We are asking you."

Everybody went home. Brezhnev called me every hour: "Well?" This is because Khrushchev's airplane was ordered through our service. And not until 12 midnight did they phone me from the guard administration and tell me that an airplane had been ordered for Khrushchev at 6 a.m. At the same time they notified me that Mikoyan would be flying with him.

Of course I called Brezhnev immediately....

[Correspondent] Why were you the only one at the airport when Khrushchev flew in?

It was a part of my job that I absolutely had to meet and accompany Khrushchev. I called Leonid Ilich in the morning: "Who will go to meet him?" And he answered: "Nobody, you go yourself. In a situation like this why should everyone go?"

[Correspondent] Were you nervous?

[Semichastnyy] I remember it well; I was not. I had some kind of confidence that there would be no complications. "Khrushchev would not do that," I thought. After working with him for 20 years I knew him pretty well.

[Correspondent] And when you were at the airport, did you meet the plane alone?

[Semichastnyy] No. Georgadze was also there. He was to meet Mikoyan.... Khrushchev came out of the plane and immediately asked me: "Where are all the others?" I said: "Nikita Sergeyevich, they are in the Kremlin...." And at this point I asked him: "Will you be having dinner in the Kremlin or at home?" He answered: "I shall go to the Kremlin." He went in the same car with Mikoyan. He had about five to seven guards with him. I phoned Brezhnev from the car and told him that Khrushchev was on his way to the Kremlin.

[Correspondent] And then?...

[Semichastnyy] I arrived at the Kremlin. After the beginning of the meeting of the Central Committee Presidium the deputy chief of Khrushchev's guard (the chief was on vacation) and I replaced the guard in Khrushchev's waiting room and then in his apartment and at his dacha. Then I told the deputy chief of the guard: "The meeting of the Presidium has now begun. Do not give a single command or a single order without my knowledge. I forbid it. This is the instruction from the leaders of the Central Committee." He understood me. And there were no excesses.

[Correspondent] No military units were called to the Kremlin?

[Semichastnyy] No. Moreover, the Kremlin stayed open for visits from people from Moscow and visitors to the capital. People were walking around the grounds while the meeting of the Presidium was in progress and then there was a plenum of the Central Committee. But before this Brezhnev suggested strengthening the guard and so forth. I answered: "Nothing extra is needed. Let us not create the appearance of a revolution." Because I understood: It is possible to solve the problem of the first secretary of the Central Committee in a democratic way.

[Correspondent] Who prepared the speech for the Central Committee plenum?

[Semichastnyy] I cannot say exactly. I think the Central Committee staff worked on it.

[Correspondent] Who made the accusation against Khrushchev?

[Semichastnyy] I was not at the meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee. Only members and candidate members of the Presidium and Central Committee secretaries were there. The meeting continued on into a second day. They began to call and ask me: "What is happening? Why do you not intervene?..." I avoided answering under various pretexts; I said that I did not know anything and that a meeting was in progress. Then I could not wait any longer. I phoned Brezhnev: "Leonid Ilich, you are going to continue the meeting until delegations come to support you or to defend Khrushchev." He called me about a half hour later: "Reassure everyone. All the members of the Presidium have already spoken and we will give 3-4 minutes each to everyone else. And at 6 o'clock—the plenum."

[Correspondent] As you know, Suslov gave a speech at the plenum. We presented its content in one of our articles....

[Semichastnyy] I read that article. Basically it reported what happened the way it happened. I was already attending the Central Committee plenum, sitting in the hall, and I observed the reaction to the speech. People in the hall started shouting the most zealous unreasoned support: "Expel him from the party!... Take him to court!" Many sat quietly. There was no serious critical discussion of Khrushchev's activity at the plenum. The Central Committee did not display its power but agreed with everything the Presidium suggested."

[Correspondent] Can you explain why that happened?

[Semichastnyy] That happened even under Stalin. You understand, I think that even Stalin could have been different. Khrushchev, too, could have been corrected at the right time. And Brezhnev would not have committed the stupid acts we are dealing with to this day. There was complicity with the leaders here. If there had been collegial decisionmaking in the Politburo (Presidium) and if the Central Committee had manifested its character and expressed its opinion I think everything would have been different. But at the time when Khrushchev was removed members of the Central Committee were acting out of inertia that went all the way back to Stalin's times.

[Correspondent] Yes, but Khrushchev had done a good deal to overcome Stalinism, to get out of the blind alley into which Stalin had led the country....

[Semichastnyy] You are right. Khrushchev did a great deal. But in the final analysis he, too, led things into a blind alley with his policy. I should add to this his lack of direction.

Both then and now there are certain people who think that there was no need to oust Khrushchev in 1964. At the meeting of the Presidium Mikoyan tried to prove that another solution would be better: "Let us divide up the posts. Let us leave Khrushchev in one of them and let us place the other in the Council of Ministers or the Central Committee."

[Correspondent] But the right person did not turn up?

[Semichastnyy] No. Khrushchev was an energetic person with a strong will. Only someone with a quick mind, sober evaluations, and a great deal of organizational ability could crush people like Malenkov and Molotov.

[Correspondent] Is education meaningless here?

[Semichastnyy] He actually did not have enough education. But even so he delved into all issues. When I went to hear Khrushchev speak I prepared carefully. I knew that the most unexpected question would follow. And the important thing is that it would be to the point. When going to hear Brezhnev there was no need to prepare; one could tell a couple of stories, laugh, and that would be it.

[Correspondent] Since the discussion has come around to Brezhnev, tell us, Vladimir Yefimovich, why was he the one selected as first secretary.

[Semichastnyy] Simply because he was next in line. He was in the second position in the Central Committee. True, it should be clarified that he and Suslov were working as though in tandem. But everyone thought that Brezhnev, working with the Presidium, could lead the Central Committee. The more so since he had a fairly large amount of experience in party work behind him.

[Correspondent] Then why did he become what we call him now? Or was he cunning by nature? Or perhaps he surrounded himself with his own people?...

[Semichastnyy] I think it was a matter of the personality of Brezhnev himself (the position of general secretary turned out to be far beyond his capabilities) and also the people with whom he surrounded himself. He moved many people from his native area to Moscow and brought in many friends with whom he had worked in Dnepropetrovsk, Moldavia, and Kazakhstan. He promoted all of his relatives to high state positions.

[Correspondent] Can this be called a mafia that supported its leader?

[Semichastnyy] I think so. I recall that I spent 2 hours trying to prove to Brezhnev that Shchelokov could not be appointed to the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Shelepin had been quite categorical about that.

[Correspondent] How about you, did you know Shchelokov well?

[Semichastnyy] Yes, we had worked together in the Ukraine. At that time I was first secretary of the Central Committee of the LKSM [Lenin Young Communist League] of the Ukraine and Shchelokov was division chief of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine. I lived in the same building with him. Our fathers, who were pensioners, were friends. But at that time Shchelokov had already been fired for improper acts. Brezhnev chose him, took him to Moldavia with him, and made him deputy chairman of the Moldavian Council of Ministers and later second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Moldavia. Then he was placed at the head of the MVD.

[Corresponding] But there were also people in the Politburo who were not under Brezhnev's thumb....

[Semichastnyy] There were. But one after another they were transferred to management and diplomatic work and were pushed out of the Politburo and even the Central Committee. The Western press did us a bad turn here. Commenting on Brezhnev's appointment, they wrote that this was a transition period and that in any event younger people would come to power and the future would lie with them. So he gradually got rid of everyone who was younger than himself.

[Correspondent] A group of elderly Politburo members was formed. Is this not how you explain the phenomenon associated with Chernenko?

[Semichastnyy] Undoubtedly.

[Correspondent] And the last question. Did you see Khrushchev after the October plenum?

[Semichastnyy] No, although I had information about how he was living. You wrote about this in ARGUMENTY I FAKTY.

'Ethnic Tensions' in Army Prompt Appeal to Yazov

AU2405150089 Paris AFP in English 1448 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 24 (AFP)—Ethnic tensions within the Soviet Army have emerged with an appeal to Soviet Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov to see that Lithuanians do not serve alongside Moslems, a local newspaper said Wednesday.

In a letter to General Yazov, the head of a special panel set up to probe the issue said Lithuanians were "terrorized" and some had even committed suicide. He urged Gen. Yazov to stop Lithuanians from serving with soldiers "of a different faith, particularly Moslems." The population of Lithuania and the other two Baltic republics is overwhelmingly Roman Catholic.

In response to public concern, the Lithuanian leadership has set up a commission to investigate recruits' problems, according to the Lithuanian communist youth newspaper KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA.

It said commission chairman Yustinas Antanaitas had written to Gen. Yazov saying Lithuanian recruits were "insulted, terrorized" by troops "of other religions, particularly Moslems." "Many of them undergo mental and physical trauma, and sometimes even commit suicide," added Mr. Antanaitas, who is also secretary of the Council of Lithuanian Professional Unions. Noting that Lithuanians would soon have to do military service in the mainly Moslem republic of Azerbaijan, he wrote: "We earnestly request that you do not send young people from our republic to a Moslem region of the country."

An armed forces monthly also recently expressed concern over ethnic relations in the Red Army. KOMMUNIST VOORUZENNYKH SIL said ethnic groups in various units tended to bunch together and sometimes "try to dictate" to the rest of the unit. It said about a third of the army and navy were currently from central Asia and the Caucasus.

RSFSR Minister of Justice Interviewed on Crime

18001042 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 May 89 Second Edition p 1

[Interview with RSFSR Minister of Justice V.A. Abolentsev by G. Orlovskiy: "The Authority of the Court"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] **Today the courts and the legal agencies face far from simple issues: society expects from them a clear-cut response to the growing crime rate, the strictest observance of legality and protection of citizens' rights and interests. The court and legal reform, which is already under way, will underpin the independence of the judicature. But we must act vigorously now. How are the courts and legal agencies in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] responding to the sharp demands of life? Our interlocutor is RSFSR minister of justice V.A. Abolentsev.**

[Orlovskiy] Vladimir Aleksandrovich, the increasing crime rate has been candidly discussed in many publications. There are, indeed, no special new revelations here, and in the appeals to the editorial offices a sufficiently unhappy picture is being painted. But how do the workers in the law enforcement agencies themselves perceive the situation?

[Abolentsev] It almost goes without saying that, to put it officially, we are very concerned. The alarming situation was discussed recently at a joint expanded meeting of Ministry of Justice Collegium and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. Judges and legal workers from the local level were invited. A serious analysis of the state of affairs was made in the statement by Ye.A. Smolentsev, the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Court.

The total number of crimes registered in 1988 in the RSFSR grew 2.9 percent compared to 1987, reaching 1.22 million, and the number of dangerous crimes increased. The proportion of repeat offenders grew among those convicted. But what is expected from us is not just an analysis of the changes in criminal matters but also a diagnosis: to what extent do these changes correspond with the activity of those who stand watch over the law? Here we are concerned about the falling level of solved crimes, the quality of the preliminary investigations, and—and this strikes closest to home—the neglect on the part of the courts.

With regard to the courts, what is needed today is a weighed and well-considered approach to the designation of crimes, the rejection of stereotypes in crime prevention work, and the ability to make use of the opportunities for re-educating convicted persons in the labor collectives. Today, judges must respond sharply to the special new features of crime. First and foremost to the increase in extortion, group crime committed by juveniles, and violence against militia workers. Real concern is needed for the rights of victims. Within the framework of real democracy things should be much worse for criminal elements and much better for citizens. This was the formula proclaimed at the CPSU Central Committee April Plenum. And it is on this that legal workers are oriented. And there is more: we need careful organization of legal processes and greater glasnost in the administration of justice; this will also avert unhealthy hullabaloo and distorted information.

[Orlovskiy] Some workers responsible for law enforcement are linking the growing crime rate to what is, in their opinion, the over-humane attitude of the courts....

[Abolentsev] Perhaps none of those attending our conference would be free from this complaint. But this is what they said: this kind of reproach is a new thing! Just remember that quite recently we were hearing a different tune in the press—that judges were going along with the investigations and that the penal colonies were filled to overflowing because of the severity of the sentences. I would like to remark that in a socialist rule-of-law state the administration of justice must also be independent of public passions.

With regard to attempts to find some "extreme" in the courtrooms, it is probably also the judges themselves who sometimes provide grounds for this. For example, they categorize crimes without giving due consideration to the public danger arising from a crime. Or, having misgivings about rescinding a sentence (and there is such a syndrome) without adequate grounds, they refer cases for additional investigation instead of condemning or acquitting a defendant. Of course, the authority of the judicature is not enhanced by these kinds of "reinsurance." Let us be fair, however; it is not they who decide the "weather" in the work of the courts. Unsound (that is, subsequently reversed) decisions to refer a case for further investigation make up only 12 percent of cases. In other words, of every 10 cases, it turns out that 9 should be referred back to the investigator. And if we take into account the fact that in 1988 sentences were quashed for more than 3,000 defendants by higher courts because of poor preliminary investigations (one case in four was referred for further investigation), then the exactingness of the courts of first instance would still seem to be inadequate. I cite these figures not to engage in "passing the buck"—the courts and investigating agencies are more to blame for the shortcomings in the struggle against crime. It is important that everyone clearly sees his own mistakes.

The following may now also be heard: the courts, they say, are now favorably disposed toward dangerous criminals. This is not so. Last year 90 percent of those convicted of particularly dangerous crimes were sentenced to deprivation of liberty. You know that there are people who really think that it is enough to add a few years deprivation of liberty to each sentence and success will be ensured in the struggle against crime. If only it were that simple.... During the seventies not one-third, as now, but two-thirds of all those convicted were sentenced to deprivation of liberty. But the crime rate did not fall. We forget the absurd truth that the significance of punishment depends not on its severity but rather on its inevitability. Why should we remember this? Last year the number of crimes recorded by the militia rose (it is precisely from these records that the crime rate figures are based) while the number of those convicted fell, from 580,000 to 427,000, or almost 26 percent. If we take the number of so-called "persons found to have committed crimes," then 55 percent were made criminally liable. It turns out that almost half of these "persons" never appeared in court. This is what the arithmetic shows....

Yes, the courts have become more exacting toward testimony. Surely no one wants the reverse? Surely society demands strict observance of presumption of innocence? The facts to which I have referred demand serious consideration: Why are cases against "persons detected" not pursued to their conclusion, and why are the cases not passed to the courts?

[Orlovskiy] Does what you have said not mean that judges are not now making mistakes?

[Abolentsev] We must state with bitterness that last year in the RSFSR 202 people were convicted without grounds. It was a question of sentences quashed by courts of appeal in cases that were consequently closed

because of lack of the elements of a crime or the occasion of a crime, or because of insufficient proof. Let me say more: compared to 1987 the proportion of sentences quashed and altered grew. Various conclusions can be drawn here, including the low professional level of some judges and the fact that they "blindly" follow the investigation.... But another conclusion is also obvious: the demands are greater, not only on the preliminary investigation but also within the court system itself. I can assert that the higher courts are reacting in a more principled manner to the omissions of lower courts.

However, the "omissions" themselves are not becoming more tolerable because of this. They should not be allowed, and the entire legal system should now be set up in such a way—and this is a legitimate demand—that mistakes made by the court become an extraordinary event. For behind each mistake made by the court there is a person and his fate, and the fate of those close to that person. Peoples' interests are also affected by the continuing cases of violations of the time periods for examination by the court. Last year these kinds of violations were permitted in 1 in 12 criminal and civil cases. References to "objective" circumstances (even though they are also sometimes cited in justification) should not occur.

There is another not unimportant question. What I have in mind is compensation for damages caused by embezzlement. Of the R28 million set by sentences in these kinds of cases in 1988, some R8 million remain unpaid. Why is this being permitted? The proper execution of sentences with reference to compensation should really protect the general state interests, and embezzlers should not be allowed to avoided material liability. The courts must be more active in this.

[Orlovskiy] You say the court and its tasks. But the court is people, specific judges. Are we not alarmed by the state of our legal body?

[Abolentsev] This concern does exist and it is quite justified. And it is not happenstance that at our joint collegium meeting with the RSFSR Supreme Court, all the time it was a question of the need for a solicitous attitude toward legal personnel and toward ensuring the full independence of the judicature. The leaders of legal agencies at the local level cannot always boast about their own uncompromising attitude, but they do carry personal responsibility—and we have defined this precisely—for separating the court from outside influences and from manifestations of disrespect for the court.

The situation with personnel is not simple. Turnover is high: last year 337 judges resigned. And they were elected only in 1987 and their period in office had only just started. Who is replacing them? Obviously we must prepare the reserve in a sounder manner and have a good knowledge of the candidates, and only after this raise the question of election. This is the more important since under the terms of the new provisions of the USSR Constitution judges are elected not for 5 but for 10 years. Obviously there must also be a radical change in the system by which judges are trained.

But cardinal resolution of the question is connected—and I say this with a full sense of responsibility—with changes in the conditions of court work. They are not compatible with the role that the court has been given in society. Suffice it to say that the salaries of most people's judges are less than the average for the country. At the 19th all-union party conference there was quite rightly talk about the need to solve the urgent questions of material support for legal personnel. I believe that this solution cannot be further delayed.

There is also the question of material-technical support for the courts. Some of the things that have been seen on the pages of your newspaper have been finding their way into reports and official documents. I shall not say a great deal about this; the 1988 capital construction for court premises has not been fulfilled. But I will note the following: these problems been solved in Mordovia and in Yaroslavl, Saratov and Tyumen oblasts. Why are they so slow in other regions? They are regarded as secondary projects.... No, it is not a question of legal palaces but of normal conditions that will ensure the work of the courts. It is impossible, you understand, to carry on the very important business of the judicature inside hovels! These far from simple questions are connected with greater effectiveness in the struggle against crime.

[Orlovskiy] A last and somewhat delicate question. Does it not seem to you that the time has come to define more precisely the relationship between the legal agencies and the courts?

[Abolentsev] I shall answer this candidly without "departmental" considerations: clear-cut regulation of these relationships will also be fruitful for both the former and the latter, and will make it possible to enhance the role of the courts and strengthen guarantees for their independence.

These kinds of innovations have been proposed in the drafts of the USSR Law on the Status of Judges and the Fundamentals of Legislations for the USSR and the Union Republics on the Judicial System. It is proposed here that the powers of the legal agencies be clarified in such a way that it is precisely they that will check reports on interference in the examination of violations of the principle of the independence of the courts. The legal agencies must work with the courts in carrying out their tasks; otherwise the total independence of the courts cannot be guaranteed.

Everything lies in the measure, nature of involvement, and ability to delineate clearly the judicial system as such and activity outside judicial proceedings. Legal work is not only the examination of cases in court. It also includes questions of disposition, structure, court staffs, the organization of the election of judges and juries and

their accountability, and their professional training and retraining. Finally it is the obligation to provide material-technical support for the courts and much, much else—everything that in general is called the creation of favorable conditions for the operation of the judicial system. And this must be done by the legal agencies. If we do not achieve good results here then it will also be difficult to talk about the authority of the court.

Economic

Defense Industry 'Conversion' Efforts Surveyed

PM2505105189 Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 21, May 89 (Signed to Press 18 May 89) p 15

[Report on interview with A.S. Systsov, USSR minister of aviation industry, and I.V. Koksanov, USSR minister of shipbuilding industry, by TASS observer B. Grishchenko especially for EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, carried under the rubric "Structural Policy": "Conversion: An Inside View"; first three paragraphs are introduction; date and place of interview not given; format of item as published precludes clear distinction between quotations from ministers' statements and Grishchenko paraphrase]

[Text] **The country's military potential, whose creation demanded tremendous efforts and expenditures in the past, is beginning to return to the people the funds invested in it: Defense industry enterprises are becoming more and more involved in the production of civilian output. This reorientation of some capacities at enterprises within the complex toward civilian needs was made possible by the new political thinking and the peace-loving foreign policy of the party and the Soviet state.**

We are talking about so-called conversion—the utilization of capacities released from the production of military equipment in the defense industry sectors in the interests of accelerating the solution of social problems. Our society is counting on this mighty reserve in the implementation of the economy's large-scale reorientation and its decisive turnabout in the direction of man and his urgent requirements and needs. This is exactly how the role of defense-related ministries in the national economy's restructuring was evaluated by the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum.

The way these processes are developing, the immediate prospects of conversion, and the difficulties and problems facing the sectors are described by the leaders of the Ministry of Aviation Industry and the Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry—USSR Ministers Apollon Sergeyevich Systsov and Igor Vladimirovich Koksanov.

First, according to both interlocutors, the sectors' frontal [frontalnyy] turnabout in the direction of solving the main problems of developing a "civilian" industry did not begin just yesterday. For many years, aircraft and ship builders applied major efforts and funds to shape a modern civil aviation and maritime and fishing fleets. This work is still continuing in increasingly large volumes.

For example, the manufacture of aviation equipment for Aeroflot by USSR Ministry of Aviation Industry plants will increase by more than 20 percent next year. Passenger airlines will be supplied with new generation machines like the Tu-204 and Il-96, and the family of cargo aircraft and helicopters will be expanded.

Shipbuilders are focusing their attention especially on the modernization of the fishing and maritime fleets, and have already discovered possibilities to accelerate the development of the technical base of river ships. There are quite a few new-generation trawlers, refrigeration ships, and fish-processing ships on shipyard stocks and slipways, even though their quantity and at times their technical standards do not always satisfy seamen's demands.

But what distinguishes the present stage of both sectors' work for the national economy's direct needs?

In reply to this question, the ministers emphasized three main specific features.

First, priorities have changed and work for the civilian [mirnaya] economy has become one of the main tasks of aircraft and shipbuilders.

Second, they both have taken on the responsibility to manufacture equipment for the agro-industrial complex and the light and food industries, geared toward long-term work along a number of most important avenues like the development of small capacity canning shops on a "turnkey" basis, systems of equipment for the groats milling and mixed food industry, power units and motorized cultivators, equipment for public catering, production lines for sewn goods and leather footwear enterprises, electric motors, and so on.

Third, specific tasks have been set to boost the direct output of consumer goods and satisfy the market's needs for them.

This is how the sectors' leaders specifically describe the "deployment of forces" at present and for the immediate future.

[Systsov] The proportion of civilian output and consumer goods will account for 35.8 percent of the sector's total volume of production already this year, and will reach 41 percent in 1990.

[Koksanov] The shop builders' civilian output should be at least 42 percent this year. Next year this indicator will account for approximately one-half of total output volume.

Regarding the sectors' participation in the retooling and reequipping of many vitally important spheres of the national economy, one does not need a lively imagination to realize the extent to which really modern equipment is needed by, say, a collective farm [kolkhoz] or a sewn goods factory, a rural cooperative, a ginning mill, a cafe, or a state farm's [sovkhoz] canning plant.

Essentially, in the past we simply could not cope with this vast sphere of direct social orientation. This is why aircraft and ship builders have to create new capacities, in line with today's demands of scientific and technical progress, at enterprises of the former Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances.

The following concern of the leader of the Ministry of Aviation Industry is, at first glance, far removed from "purely aviation" matters: The sector will develop on a "turnkey" basis a series of small plants for the production of canned vegetables. It is such mini-enterprises, built on kolkhozes and sovkhozes right next to the fields and beds, that farms urgently need today.

Current plans cover the delivery of equipment for 25 plants with a productivity of 1 tonne of output per hour. For the time being, they will be fitted with machines currently in production. It has been decided, however, to develop a new and modern production line for fruit and vegetable canning with the same productivity. About 30 Ministry of Aviation Industry experimental design bureaus are involved in the development of machines making up the production line, and they must finish two sets of experimental prototype machines no later than August this year. We expect to assemble the new line in September and deliver it to the clients so that series manufacture may begin in 1990.

Meanwhile ship builders are working on the development of a range of equipment for public catering enterprises. One of Leningrad's cafes will be fully refitted by them and will become a sort of test ground where the designers and builders of warships and weapons will test their potential in a new sphere in people's interests. Work has also been found for highly skilled experts who used to specialize in fighters, bombers, and missiles and who are now increasingly involved in designing power units and motorized cultivators for peasants' farmyards. Quite a few specialists have switched to the development of packaging technology for the trade network.

All this and much else that has been specifically assigned to aircraft builders and shipbuilders now constitutes their planned work, just as important as the creation [sozdaniye] of airplanes, helicopters, and ships. And the pace for consumer goods growth has been set correspondingly high—147 percent for aircraft builders and 140 percent for ship builders next year. In terms of rubles, this growth will amount to R1.3 billion and more than R600 million respectively.

The leaders of the Ministry of Aviation Industry and the Ministry of Shipbuilding Industry realize that even these sectors' mighty potential is incapable of producing the "economic miracle" in which people would so much like to believe. Hard, prolonged, and persistent work lies ahead. The systematic struggle against shortages demands skillful utilization of all economic management levers.

A close examination makes it obvious, for example, that conversion in itself is a complex process not only from the technical but also from the economic point of view, and especially so in the conditions of economic accountability. Quite naturally, a shipyard is not geared for the manufacture of agro-industrial equipment, while even the most advanced aviation industry plant cannot assimilate the series production of machines for the footwear industry or automatic packaging machines overnight.

This is, as the saying goes, just one side of the problem. Here is another: The conversion of well-established production lines requires not only time but also funds. It is no secret that the remuneration for 1 hour's work in the defense industry is higher than in the civilian sphere. Is this, and much else besides, not likely to act as an impediment along the path of conversion, with which many of us associate great hopes today?

[Koksanov] It is only natural that economic normatives would be changed accordingly as a result of radical changes in production programs. But the present period is far from simple, and supply problems are especially difficult. This is why we rely on understanding and support from the USSR State Planning Committee and other central economic departments.

[Systsov] Conversion for us means a major and complex supplement to the economic reform now being implemented. We also operate in close contact with central economic departments, especially since we have already come up against a number of serious difficulties, and I consider the cadre issue to be paramount among them. It appears that the transition from most complex production to simple articles also has a painful effect on people's interests and pride. An outflow of skilled cadres has begun in places, with some of them going to cooperatives. We are seeking possibilities to control this process....

The path of conversion is by no means strewn with roses. This is realized by aircraft builders and shipbuilders alike, and they display independence, enterprise, and business acumen. The shipbuilders, for example, have managed to sell for foreign currency ships built in excess of plan targets. These funds are used to acquire the equipment necessary to boost the output of good-quality furniture, and small electric motors for the annual manufacture of about 1 million food mixers and other domestic appliances.

A similar method is used by the aircraft builders in accelerating the retooling of almost 30 plants handed over to them by the former Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances. While boosting deliveries of 1,800 categories of goods—this is indeed the number of categories that the Ministry of Aviation Industry supplies to the internal market today—the sector is investing the funds earned from defense orders to improve this output. Conversion is thus developing and consolidating the mechanism for intrasector redistribution of funds to the benefit of the civilian economy.

As we can see, defense industry sectors are increasingly often entering the consumer goods market directly and they deal directly with purchasers. And this face-to-face encounter does not always proceed without problems. I would imagine that you, esteemed reader, have already had occasion to buy in some store, say, a radio receiver, a tape recorder, or a coffee grinder whose packaging provides virtually no information about the manufacturing enterprise. Alas, this inertia of secrecy still weighs heavily on a number of defense industry enterprises.

This anonymity is obsolete, A.S. Systsov believes. All our enterprises working directly with the trade network will soon have their own brand names. People must know who exactly supplies them with what products. After all, the brand name is associated with the labor collective's honor.

The sector has good grounds for adopting this approach. Shipbuilders and aircraft builders alike are fulfilling social orders under the watchword of a struggle for excellent output quality. A sound tradition is having its effect here—to do everything conscientiously and to match the world's best not in words but in deeds.

That selfsame Ministry of Aviation Industry, for example, is doggedly pursuing its set goal: At least 80 percent of all machine systems designed for the light industry, the agro-industrial complex, and the trade network should meet world standards in all specifications by 1995. In order to get a clearer idea of the path that has to be traversed, let us note that at present only 12 percent of this output is up to this standard.

It is only logical that all of the sector's experimental design bureaus should participate in the solution of this most important problem. In the "Antey" branded-goods stores aircraft builders are learning to work directly with the purchasers of their products, they are studying demand, working out contract prices, and dealing with complaints which help manufacturing plants to improve their output, especially complex domestic appliances.

There is no doubt that conversion—this complex and multifaceted process—is deepening and gathering pace. Evidence of this can be seen in the experience of the two sectors which we traditionally class as belonging to the defense industry.

Deputy Comments on Customs Regulations

18300594 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
11 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Interview with V. Boyarov, first deputy chief of the Main Directorate of the USSR Council of Ministers State Customs Control, by S. Dvigantsev and F. Ivanov under the rubric "From Reliable Sources": "Commodities at Customs"; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Question] Vitaliy Konstantinovich, up until now we have run into customs declarations only as passengers when transiting the border as tourists or on assignments. Why did the need arise to apply this practice to foreign trade cargo operations as well?

[Boyarov] The customs declaration has long been an inherent attribute in foreign economic relations in a majority of the countries of the world. Now, when Soviet state and cooperative enterprises and organizations received the right to independent entry into the foreign market, and when the volume of commodities being moved across the USSR border will increase with each day, it is simply necessary for us to bring customs documentation into conformity with foreign practice. Up until now we did not have customs documents that accompanied cargos. As the specialists calculate, we lose many millions of rubles annually on the official registration of such documents in other countries.

Moreover, the introduction of customs declarations makes it possible now, after the elimination of state monopoly in foreign trade, to set up strict statistical accounting of foreign trade operations, to avoid the export of strategic commmodities and raw materials from the country and the import of low-quality articles, and to simplify and accelerate customs inspections procedures appreciably. In a word, the customs declaration process is one of the means of state regulation of foreign economic activity which is widely applied abroad, and which we are now adopting.

[Question] What is the customs declaration, and what kind of data is needed to fill it out?

[Boyarov] In working up a form, we took the customs declaration adopted in the "Common Market" countries. We hope that our documentation will be officially recognized soon by all foreign partners.

As for the procedure for filling out the declaration, it is rather complicated. The declarants have to fill in about 50 items. Among these: registration number, which is assigned by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations; origin; volume and short description of the commodity to be moved across the border; its price; and the address of the cargo recipient....

I want to note at the outset that the customs declaration has to be completed by all enterprises and organizations that enter the foreign market. A number of economic

associations, and also enterprises, that received the right earlier to conduct foreign trade independently and that have a lot of experience, for the time being will declare their commodities according to existing commodity-transport documents....

[Question] But why are the "novices" in such an inequitable position in comparison with the "old-timers" of the foreign market?

[Boyarov] I do not think that there is any discrimination here. To the contrary, it will be much simpler for the "novices" to learn the correct formulation of the new customs documents. In addition, we are ready to give any kind of assistance, to provide consultation and to teach them. It is recognized that, possibly, they may also make mistakes in the first phase. Therefore, we decided: For 3 months—from 1 April to 1 June—we will not penalize anyone for violating the rules for filling out the customs declaration. Our colleagues will explain the essence of the committed infractions to exporters and importers, they will correct the errors, and they will help them avoid errors in the future. Naturally, this concerns those who break the declaration rules because of a lack of knowledge.

It is another matter if it is deliberate. For example, conscious falsification of a registration number and the declaration of a commodity that is not consistent with the function of an enterprise will invite the very strictest of measures: from a prohibition on the transport of cargo to a sizeable fine and even commodity confiscation. I should say that this kind of practice is widely employed throughout the world. Fines reach three times the cost of the cargo in some countries.

[Question] And when will participants in foreign economic relations declare commodities and complete customs declarations?

[Boyarov] By the end of this year. We would gladly immediately introduce a single procedure for everyone. Unfortunately, we still do not have the material base for this: self-copying carbonless paper that is needed for printing declarations, and computers for their processing. But now we are being allocated large sums of money to acquire all that is necessary, and the problem will be resolved soon. Incidentally, part of the money from customs duties—which will be paid both by the old and the new participants in foreign economic relations—will also go for these purposes.

[Question] How large are these duties?

[Boyarov] The declaration of one commodity designation costs R10, and each additional one is R5. For comparison: In the FRG, one declaration complement costs DM68, and the rest, 10 each. In the United States, the sums of duties reach 0.02 percent of the cost of commodities.

[Question] Very likely the new system of commodity declaration will also require an expansion of customs staffs?

[Boyarov] Of course, because now customs has only 232 persons in the central apparatus and 6,018 employees at customs locations. Tsarist Russia's central customs apparatus had 350 persons, and there was a total of 35,000 customs agents in the country! But the new system of declaration presupposes a considerable expansion of our functions. First and foremost, we are now obliged to teach and consult with declarants and to furnish them various information services.

Our customs service should become a full and equal participant in foreign economic activity. In Western countries, customs is more an organizer of foreign trade than it is a controller. Applying economically based tariffs and duties, it stimulates trade turnover, prevents an unbalance in supply and demand, and protects the rights of consumers. We do not yet enjoy a very well-tuned system, and as a result various kinds of absurdities arise: A difference in prices is created artificially, and poor quality and incomplete commodities and equipment are purchased.

Of course, the new customs role also requires a large number of specialists—engineers, economists, and experts in the science of commodities. We hope that the country's first institute for the training of customs specialists will open in the near future.

[Question] Vitaliy Konstantinovich, not a little time has passed since the publication of the system of declaration. What kind of questions did it evoke from the participants in foreign economic relations?

[Boyarov] Many are interested in procedural questions; the rule for completing a declaration and the system of duty collection. Naturally, we give everyone detailed explanations. But among those making inquiries there were also those—mainly representatives of large foreign economic associations—who objected to the very purport of the new rules. Strangely enough, these are people who know international customs practices very well. They refuse to fill out the declarations and to pay the established duties. The position of the Main Directorate of State Customs Control is firm: The new system of declaration is compulsory for everyone.

Scientific

'Cosmos-2021' Satellite Launched 24 May

LD2505064189 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0608 GMT 25 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 25 May (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos- 2021" was launched in the Soviet Union on 24 May 1989.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution—89.3 minutes;
apogee—302 km;
perigee 204 km;
orbital inclination—70 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

Cosmonaut Discusses Post-Orbit Adaptation
LD2405135989 Moscow TASS in English 1343 GMT 24 May 89

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—Having returned to the earth on April 27th after an 8-month flight on the "Mir" station, Doctor Valeriy Polyakov got up at 6.30 A.M. the very next day to watch the "120 Minutes" TV programme and did his morning exercises without any safeguards—15-20 squats and spinal limbering up motions.

"On the third day after the landing Vladimir Shatalov, chief of the cosmonauts training centre, was very much surprised to see me running", Polyakov said before flying for Crimea, where the cosmonauts and their families will spend the holidays this year. "A week before our return to the earth my shin muscles shrunk approximately 20 percent. The same happened with Aleksandr Volkov and Sergey Krikalev. True, this did not affect our physical abilities. For instance, I could run at 15 kilometres an hour on a tread mill for a minute 3-4 times a day. Our weight had not changed much as compared to what it was before take off".

Shrinking of shin muscles, lowering of calcium content in bones, changes in heart functions and water-salt exchange are unavoidable in conditions of weightlessness. All these changes are not dangerous for a cosmonaut's health when he is in orbit. However, the better a cosmonaut adapts himself to weightlessness, the more difficult it is for him to readapt to terrestrial conditions.

Soviet medics have worked out a set of prophylactic methods to combat the aftereffects of weightlessness in order to facilitate adaptation to terrestrial conditions. In the course of a flight cosmonauts must spend one hour a day on physical exercises, not included in the overall duration of their working day, which equals to 8.5 hours. They must run about five kilometres a day on a tread mill and "ride" more than ten kilometres on a bicycle ergometer. Additional exercises must be done with expanders and other appliances. Special "penguin" suits with sewn-in special rubber liners also help to bring more pressure to bear on the muscles. At the final stage of a long-term flight cosmonauts also undergo training on a special "chibis" appliance which stimulates the flow of blood to their feet.

"As a physician, I had to set the example of conscientious attitude to the prophylactic system and did my best to improve and extend it", Valeriy Polyakov says. "For instance, the time of 'chibis' training was increased, exercises were intensified to strengthen the vestibular apparatus. By properly combining the available prophylactic means it is quite possible to carry out flights that beat Vladimir Titov's and Musa Manarov's record of 366 days."

Economic Benefits of Space Program Stressed
LD2405053989 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 May 89

[Excerpt] A press conference was held today at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center in Moscow. It was devoted to the results of the flight by cosmonauts Volkov, Polyakov, and Krikalev aboard the "Mir" orbital complex. Our correspondent,. Yuriy Korotkov, has prepared a report on the press conference.

[Korotkov] Cosmonauts Volkov, Krikalev, and Polyakov, who ended their flight aboard the "Mir" station on 27 April, and leaders of the USSR Glavkosmos [Main Administration for the Development and Use of Space Technology for the National Economy and Scientific Research], The Gagarin cosmonaut training center, the Institute for Space Research, and medical establishments exploring medical and biological problems, attended the press conference. The feedback from, and cost of space operations was the main aspect emphasized by all the speakers. True, many people have been asking more and more often lately whether such flights are justified and what, in the final analysis, they provide in practical terms for science and for the national economy, as well as for all of us. Aleksandr Ivanovich Dunayev, head of the USSR Glavkosmos, gave the following figures. Over the past 4 years, our country's expenses on manned programs amounted to R1.471 million. And what is the feedback? Taking the commercial profits only, we received about $600,000 over the period of the "Mir" station's operations. What has the station brought to our country? What are the results? Here is what Leonid Alekseyevich Gorshkov, head of a department of the Energiya scientific and production association, said.

[Begin Gorshkov recording] Here is what I would say about the areas in which we believe we are receiving important results. First, they include results that bring direct revenue in to our national economy. These are,

mainly, the production of materials, biopreparations, and the exploration of earth resources. The second area, of course, is commercial activity. This is very lucrative work, on the whole. This is the marketing of the results of advanced technology and not the marketing of resources, and is a serious achievement, of course. Third, there is scientific research. As a rule, this research does not yield results that can be expressed in monetary value, and perhaps it would be wrong to expect that. The last thing is the introduction of our technology into industry and the national economy. I must say that we never thought about this before. Our achievements and development are common property, as the saying goes. They have been used, but we have been unaware of many things. To clear up this area special work should be done now. However, the press has written, perhaps, about individual instances: glass-reinforced plastic, carbon-filled plastic, various glues and coatings, and a whole range of technical designs have already been used in the national economy. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Military

Defense Historical Institute Chief Interviewed

AU2205081389 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 16 May 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, head of the Military Historical Institute of the USSR Ministry of Defense, by Major Vladi Vladkov and Captain Ivan Genov in Sofia: "The Historical Truth Is Sacred"—date of interview not given; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Colonel General Dmitriy Volkogonov, head of the Military Historical Institute of the USSR Ministry of Defense, is visiting our country at the invitation of the Institute of Military History under the Ministry of National Defense. Despite his numerous activities, the Soviet guest spared some time for an interview with NARODNA ARMIYA representatives, and answered their questions, for which we are very grateful to him.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] Comrade Colonel General, last year, NARODNA ARMIYA was one of the first newspapers to introduce you as head of the USSR Ministry of Defense Military Historical Institute. On that occasion we learned that the collective of your institute is working on a 10-volume edition dealing with the history of the Great Patriotic War. Would you tell us some more about your institute's activities?

[Volkogonov] A year has elapsed since my appointment as head of the institute. In my opinion the restructuring process is not merely related to our country as a whole, but affects all its major, specific spheres of activity. For this reason, we are now restructuring the work of our institute. I would say that one of the main trends in this process is connected with the requirement to tell the whole truth about our history. Until recently, our history looked like a dark, empty street at midnight. Only one man, wearing a characteristic black moustache, was wandering up and down street. There was nothing else. We are publishing various books and encyclopedias, as well as the 10-volume history of the Great Patriotic War, in order to "populate history" with human beings. In the past we described stages, periods, and centuries; in other words, we had a concept, but this concept was deprived of all meaning.

The 300,000 copies of a 2-volume book, entitled "Heroes of the Soviet Union" was promptly sold out. We are now completing a collected edition entitled "Knights of the Order of Glory." And other book, entitled "Marshals of War," which describes all marshals, and not only the well-known ones, such as Zhukov, but also the "ill-starred ones," such as Kulikov, who was shot, is ready for publication. As many as 42 front commanders served in World War II. We would like to publish a book about them. We had famous front commanders, such as Eremenko, Rokosovskiy, Zhukov, and Konev, whom everyone knows. However, a front commander, such as Major General Sabennikov, for example, who served no more than 2 weeks at this post, is hardly known. We know that Pavlov, who was also shot, was front commander for no longer than a week. This book promises to be quite interesting. We are also preparing a book on the "war in Afghanistan."

We are now striving to publish books not only for military experts, but also for the general public. It is our goal to actively influence the people's historical awareness. As I already pointed out, restructuring is called for. We are looking for talented, young people, we are announcing competitions for new ideas, we are organizing the so-called meetings at 14 "Universitetska" Street, where our institute is situated. We usually submit some difficult, topical problem to public discussion. At the beginning we did not have many visitors, but today an increasing number of academicians, writers, and well-known specialists are participating in our discussiions. These meetings, which are held on a monthly basis, have become very popular in Moscow. We have many plans, and I hope we will have the strength to implement them.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] You recently gave an interview to NOVOYE VREMYA on Khrushchev's secret report about the personality cult. Why, do you think, has this document appeared so late?

[Volkogonov] History has one peculiar feature, which is fundamental. History and truth cannot be imprisoned forever. In the United States people can be sentenced to 99- or 100-year prison terms, while the death penalty and life imprisonment are practiced in other countries. I think, however, that history cannot be sentenced to life imprisonment because it is bound to be set free sooner or later. Khrushchev's report "served" a 32-year sentence while it was confined to the archives. It was known that it would be published sooner or later. I was aware of this fact and I used the report, but we were not allowed to refer to it. The publication of this document is a positive

fact. The decision to publish the journal "News From the CPSU Central Committee" was also very useful. Numerous, interesting documents will be published in it. However, I think that this is not enough. Collected volumes of documents should be published, such as: documents from the military archives, from the files of legal departments, and from other institutions. For example, we will publish several volumes of collected file documents this year, such as "The People's Defense Commissar on the Eve of World War II—Documents, Orders, and Instructions." We will also issue a collected volume of documents from the Revolutionary Military Council. In the future we will continue to publish collected volumes of military documents so that all empty gaps will be eliminated from history. I think that there should be no such gaps—neither black, nor white, nor grey ones.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] Comrade Colonel General, it would be very interesting for our daily's readers to learn some more about your own work, as well as about your future plans.

[Volkogonov] I just finished the book "Triumph and Tragedy" which is very large. It will have about 80 printed gallies. The second volume will be even larger. I submitted it to my publishers in December 1988, and half a million copies of each volume will be published by the end of July or the beginning of August 1989. I have learned that about 30 countries have asked to translate it. I know that the first volume of this work will be printed in the People's Republic of Bulgaria by the Military Publishing House by the end of 1989. I think that the second volume is better, because I had access to additional sources which were previously declared totally "off limits." Nevertheless, all this belongs to the past, the book is already completed.

I am now working on a biography of Trotskiy. I will finish my work on the book, which is entitled "Leo Trotskiy—A Political Portrait" by the end of 1990. I had access to numerous materials, at Harvard University, for example. I also found documents in London. I went through all the files available in Moscow, and discovered some of Trotskiy's relatives, his secretary, the wife of his second son, and got in touch with Tamara Deutscher, the wife of his chief biographer, who lives in London. She is over 80, but her memory is still excellent. I found extensive factual documents, and I hope to have sufficient strength, because I am writing only at night. During the day I have to take care of the 10-volume history, the encyclopedia, and other affairs. When I come home I rest for 1 hour and then I work throughout the night, until 0100, or 0200 a.m. Such is my everyday life.

[NARODNA ARMIYA] What would you like to tell the readers of our main military daily?

[Volkogonov] I would like to tell them that history is part of our lives and culture. In order to be a patriot and internationalist, you must be familiar with the history of your native country. No matter how difficult, painful, and tragic our history may be, it is, nevertheless, our own history....